EMPIRE OF RISK

Terror, Virulence and the Apocalypse

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CERTIFICATE

Certified that the dissertation entitled, **"EMPIRE OF RISK. Terror, Virulence and the Apocalypse"** submitted by Mr. M. Kamminthang, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of degree of Master of Philosophy has not been previously submitted for any other Degree of this or any other University. To the best of our knowledge this is an original work.

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For Mom and Dad...

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Introduction

'New Terrorism' – a new form of nihilistic terror - especially bio-terror conceived in the womb of techno-scientific society poses an 'unknown risk' of unprecedented nature to human civilization. The risk sensibility of an impending catastrophe in technocultural society is aggravated by 'overspecialization' and further compounded by the pervasive influence of 'scientized culture' where the notion of 'progress' is closely tied to development in science and technology.

The 9/11 incident and the subsequent Anthrax attack in fall 2001 foreshadow the shape of things to come. The new breed of bombers, symbolized by the martyred-pilots attack of the World Trade Centre (WTC) tower, has chosen for their weapon the apparatus of spectacle (Boal 2005: 172). It is essentially a battle where technology is pitted against technology and modernity against modernity. These are some of the paradox of our times.

Unlike other events, the 9/11 incident was an important historical anchor in the sense that it increased 'risk sensibility' in contemporary western society. For Baudrillard, the WTC attack has a 'symbolic dimension' without which it would only be a 'pure accident'. His insight into the 'deep complicity' between the perpetrators of the collapse twin towers and those who share (this order's) benefits are remarkable. The reason given by Baudrillard was that this superpower "through its unbearable power engendered all that violence brewing around the world and therefore this terrorist imagination which – unknowingly – inhabits us all" (Baudrillard 2001: 2).

This is however unacceptable to the western moral conscience as evidenced by the attempts to erase this 'irreducible singularity'. Baudrillard observed that "without this deep complicity, the event would not have had such repercussion, and without doubt, terrorist know that in their symbolic strategy they can count on this unavowable complicity" (ibid). The deepest symbolic shock and the risk sensibility generated by the collapse of the twin towers is caused by an 'irreducible singularity' in a generalized system of exchange. A system whose excess of power creates an

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'unsolvable challenge' is responded by a definitive act of the terrorist which is also unanswerable i.e., it cannot be part of the exchange circuit (ibid: 3).

In today's technological culture, the enrolment of various actors whether a terrorist, a virus, First Responder, or Public Law Enforcement into a particular network in the wake of terrorist attack or in anticipation of bioterrorist attack is mediated by 'risk sensibility' and 'sense making'. For instance, the threat of an impending terrorist attack is ordered and revealed as 'risk' through the attribution of insight, meaning and value. This valorization of risk can also be seen in the case of other kinds of risk as well.

Modern social organization and technologies, concentration of population, increasing interdependence and connectivity makes it possible for disaster to spread rapidly and exponentially. For instance, the Anthrax attack of fall 2001 has demonstrated the havoc political, financial and psychological – bioterrorism can cause in American society. This has spawned a number of virtual worst case scenarios (Clarke 2006: 79, 80).

The use of microbes and bioterror as a weapon is, however, not new in American history; smallpox was used as a bioweapon against the native Americans by the colonizing British forces. To defeat the native Americans, British soldiers introduced virulent smallpox among the population by giving smallpox infected blankets and handkerchiefs to the unsuspecting Indian chiefs (Zelicoff 2005: 137). This gift of the proverbial 'Trojan horse' played an important role in determining the outcome of the war and also in shaping American collective consciousness towards bioterror.

Similar trick was played on the American continental troops, but the timely introduction of variolation by George Washington on his own troops defeated the designs of the British forces. The outcome of the war would have been different had this knowledge of variolation was unknown to the American troops. So, quite early on, Americans were aware of the significance of the use of microbes as weapons of war.

Till today, the significance of the use of microbes as a biological weapon is etched in the collective memory of the Americans. The 9/11 incident and the subsequent Anthrax attack of fall 2001 have revived old memories and fascination with the *invisible* microbes as a weapon of mass destruction raising the *possibilities* of a pandemic in a globalized world.

Aims and Objectives

The aim of this dissertation is to explore to what extent and how American society, has changed in response to increased risks, especially induced by technological culture. Using Beck's thesis of risk society as a superscript, my aim is to understand the notion of risk, terror and bioterrorism using Latour's Actor Network Theory (ANT) and biophilosophy, as interpreted by Van Loon. In this regard, this work combines theories and substantive analysis mainly of post-modern and post-structuralist thinkers. I would also use narratives to examine apocalypse in popular culture, which forms the major substantive analysis of the triangular relationship between risk, virulence and apocalypse by examining the 'interpenetration' of religious and secular apocalypse.

However, I would like to add here that the theories used are not meant to be an exegesis but a tool to provide a framework to understand the problems of contemporary society. In this regard, I have used 'Empire of Risk' as a theoretical construct to understand the extreme form of 'risk consciousness' and 'risk aversion' that has spawned 'new risk' in technological society. I would argue here that Empire of Risk share certain similarities and differences with risk society. Even though Empire of Risk emerges from technocultural society of western civilization; in late modernity, its epicenter has now shifted to America. The risks spawned by Empire of Risk are, unlike the *unintended consequences* of 'overproduction' in industrial society, the *intentional consequences* of human volition or agency. In other words, risk is no longer a consequence of the past, but a 'becoming' in anticipation of the future. This gave rise to new ethical and moral basis in 'decision-making' which impacted the social, cultural, and political environment. I would argue that extreme risk

consciousness borders on paranoia and neurosis and this 'culture of fear' can have a self-fulfilling prophecy.

The objectives of exploring risk, virulence and apocalypse in late modernity are three fold:

● To provide an understanding of technocultural society and risk consciousness in late modernity using risk society thesis of Beck as the superscript.

● To lay down the framework for understanding and interpreting the constellation of risk, terror, and bioterror as a species, sub-species and sub-subspecies of technological society.

● To make a substantive analysis in order to understand the close encounter of risk, virulence, and apocalypse and how this generates specific form of risk perspective.

Rationale

In chapter one, I will be looking at the notion of 'risk' by tracing its roots and examining how 'risk' became prominent as a conceptual break from 'determinism.' However, it is important to note here that 'risk' is not an invention of modernity. The risk of today, as advocated by Ulrich Beck and others, is a product of radicalized modernization. This radicalized modernization is marked by 'overspecialization' and 'risk consciousness' which came to be known as 'risk society.' It is in this context of 'risk society' that I would argue my case for the 'Empire of Risk.'

In this regard, I would like to examine first the notion of 'risk' as found in the writings of Ulrich Beck, Ian Hacking and Lee Clarke. I will also be looking at how risk as a 'cognitive map' for the future has become pervasive and entrenched in American culture which gets reflected in its military doctrine or mode of warfare and its consequential impact on international politics. In this context, I would be looking at 'New Wars' in relation to international terrorism or global terrorism.

Having laid down my argument, I would like to bring out some of the 'paradoxes' of risk society. The perception of risk, the cultural criticism of science and the intelligibility of other forms of knowledge can take place only in terms of

scientific rationality and in the language of modern science. This theoretical problem in sociology of science helps us to understand the monopoly of science on what is "truth" and what constitute knowledge. In this context, I would like to ask how it effects our perception on 'risk.'

It would also be worth while to understand how 'risk' is perceived by American society known for its techno-scientific dominance. Secondly, whether American society today is the epicenter for the centrifugal distribution of risks? Thirdly, what are the possible reasons that create conditions for America as an 'epicenter' of risk society? And finally, paradoxically, whether other forms of risk also gravitate towards this epicenter?

What are some of the conditions for the possibility of the 'worst cases' to happen in American society? To what extent did 'progress' in technoscience contributed to the possibility of new round of bioterrorism which could be more devastating and unpredictable in its consequences? Does this 'culture of fear' have some connection with the feeling of 'vulnerability' towards an impending catastrophe?

In chapter two, I will be looking at the notion of 'risk,' 'terror,' and 'bioterror' and how they are inter-linked to each other within the superscript called risk society. Whereas the previous chapter deals with the macro-sociological aspects of risk society, through this chapter I would like to look at the micro-sociological aspects. Following Van Loon interpretation of Latour's notion of 'risk,' I would argue that risk is a 'species' within the technocultural society.

Further, I would also be looking at how terror is a 'sub-species' and exist as virulent abject in the interstice of risk society. With the growing capacity of technical option, the incalculability of the consequence of a 'nihilistic' terror makes risk society a catastrophic society. Therefore, I would say that the use of pathogen as a bioweapon marked the beginning of bioterror as a 'sub-sub species.'

The primary argument which I would like to pursue is that 'risk' is a kind of 'terror' and 'terror' is also a form of 'risk.' By interposing 'risk' and 'terror,' I would like to draw out the sense of vulnerability they generate in risk society. This sense of

vulnerability is further heightened by the introduction of bioterrorism in technoculture society. I would further argue that 'risk', 'terror' and 'bioterror' as a 'species', 'sub-species' and 'sub-subspecies' is generated within the 'assemblage' of man, technology and spirits. This understanding of 'risk,' 'terror,' and 'bioterror' will be applied through out this chapter.

Having said this, I would like to examine, within the 'assemblage' of man, technology and spirits, the notion of 'risk' and 'biopolitics of motivation' which is closely tied to the notion of the apocalypse. In this regard, I'll be looking at Jean-Francois Lyotard's 'monadic drive' and the engendering of the apocalypse. Similarly, Virilio's study of the acceleration of the 'historical-tempo' and the 'end of humanity' in the singular would be examined, to understand how they are closely tied to the socio-economic and political structure of our time.

Further, I would examine the social production of 'wealth' and the social production of 'risks' and how this engenders a sense of vulnerability in risk society. I would argue that there is a binary opposition within the social body of risk society which is almost *irreconcilable* and this has spilled over on a global scale manifested by the phenomenon of global terrorism.

Global terrorism, I would argue, becomes possible with the disuse of 'national' economy and the emergence of 'shadow economy' which form a network connecting the remote hinterlands with the metropolitan city of the world. In this context, terrorism becomes an 'invisible' and pervasive 'nomad' which modern institutions find difficult to confront due to its inherent 'logocentric mode of organization.' Further, I would also bring out how counter-terrorism measures taken in the form of 'war machines' is endangering liberal democracy and civil society to become a police state.

My proposition, at the end, is that within the 'assemblage' of man, technology, and virus, there is an intense struggle between 'man' and 'microbes' to 'enroll' various actors so as to outwit each other in the game of survival. It is my proposition that just as man has intervened in the world of microbes and animals by setting off

one against another, microbes have also intervened in the 'race struggle' of man through bioterrorism.

Some of the issues which will be dealt with in this chapter are: Is technological 'progress'- a runaway train leading to 'Total Accident?'[1] In this regard, I would like to examine and compare the work of Ulrich Beck and Jean-Francois Lyotard and Paul Virilio. It is also pertinent here to ask, why man after colonizing 'territorial' and 'social body' reverts to colonize the 'human body?'[2] Further, I would also like to enquire, what drives the risk society towards the apocalypse?

Having shown the inherent nature of 'risk' embedded in technological culture; I would like to examine the discourse of 'power relations' by Michel Foucault to explain the phenomenon of 'terrorism' within the context of globalization. In this context, Van Loon interpretation of Deleuze and Guattari writings on the 'war machine' and the 'state apparatus' will be used to examine the practical difficulties faced by modern institutions in tackling the phenomenon of terrorism. The question that we have posed in the wake of increasing violence and surveillance in risk society is whether liberal democracy is heading towards a 'covert state?'

Lastly, it is pertinent to ask whether increasing surveillance and compromise on man's civil liberty is leading to losing out on other fronts as well. Within the 'assemblage' of man, technology and virus, whose biopolitics prevails at the end? Is man just a pawn in this game of survival? How are we to understand the biopolitics of motivation involved in 'terrorism' and 'bioterrorism?'

In chapter three, I will be looking at the apocalypse in popular culture – both religious and secular apocalypse to see their interpenetration using narrative as a scalpel. In this respect, I am using Victor Turner interpretation of Richard Schecher's 'aesthetic' or 'staged drama' and 'social drama'. According to Schecher's eight figure loop place in a horizontal position (Figure 1, pp.48), the manifest performance of staged drama get subsumed as the implicit rhetorical structure for the social drama. The overt social drama then gets subsumed as the implicit social process for the next

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[1] 'Total Accident' here would mean the end of the human race in the singular by 'the "genetic bomb," born out of speed (computers) and biotechnology' (See Lotringer cited in Virilio 2002: 16). It is the beginning of the super-human and the sub-humans (See Virilio 2002: 105).
[2] (ibid: 102)

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staged drama thereby completing the horizontally placed eight figure loop (Turner 1981: 150).

The enactment of the staged drama and the social drama can be seen applied throughout the chapter by selecting two different sets of popular apocalyptic novels: Left Behind series and *Sleeper Cell*. Though both of them belong to the same genre, they portray two different set of scenarios. The former deals with the end-time scenarios as found in Christian eschatology and the later depicts a bioterrorist attack in some of the cities of United States. I would argue using Schecher's horizontally placed eight figure loop that there is a linkage between the two different sets of scenarios. This linkage would unfold by itself as I begin to dissect using the narratives of Hayden White, Paul Ricoeur and Cheryl Mattingly's interpretation Ilongot hunters' of stories.

I would like to consider the invasion of Iraq in 2003 by George W. Bush Jr. as an overt 'social drama' informed by the implicit rhetorical structure of Left Behind narratives in the unfolding dynamic of Schecher's horizontally place eight figure loop. Similarly following the same loop, the *Sleeper Cell* published in 2005 completes this loop keeping an open-ended social drama, which I would argue as the coming plague of bioterror. This does not seem to be far fetched, if we look at the "close encounter of religious eschatology of the apocalypse, an immanent nihilism, and the modernist teleology of progress" (Van Loon 2002: 136) within the technological culture of risk society.

Having said this, I would like to bring to attention, the 'passivity' or 'ambivalence' shown by Christians mainly with a dispensationalist view towards global disarmament of WMD and world peace. I would like to locate this paradox which I call the 'dispensationalist paradox,' to distinguish it from Marsden's notion of premillennial paradox, within the 'millennialist discursive field.' Further, I would argue that the dispensationalist paradox has moved beyond its socio-cultural field to have an impact on political and ecological environment.

Having shown the 'complicity' of the actors of 'social drama' to the politics they intervene, I would like to argue that the paradox of liberal democracy and 'race

struggle' within modern nation state has transcended and transmuted to become the biopolitics of macrobiology in world risk society. Further, I would argue that 'War Against Terror' is the global manifestation of the intersection of these two paradox: the dispensationalist and the liberal democracy paradox. These two paradoxes, with all its implicit social processes, located within technological culture *reinforce* the horizontally placed eight figure loop 'staged drama' and the 'social drama' for the coming plague.

Chapter 1

Empire of Risk

Introduction

In this chapter, I am looking at the notion of 'risk' by tracing its roots and examining how 'risk' became prominent as a conceptual break from 'determinism.' The 'avalanche of printed numbers', after the Napoleonic era which became accessible to the public, marked the beginning of the use of statistics and provide a new way of looking at personal and social laws as determined by 'probability' or 'law of chance' rather than strict causality.

However, it is important to note here that 'risk' is not an invention of modernity. The risk of today, as advocated by Ulrich Beck and others, is a product of radicalized modernization. This radicalized modernization is marked by 'overspecialization' and 'risk consciousness' which came to be known as 'reflexive modernity' or 'risk society.' It is in this context of 'risk society' that I would argue my case for the 'Empire of Risk.'

The Argument

'Empire of Risk' is different from and similar to 'risk society' in certain aspects. Unlike risk society which has its origin in western civilization, Empire of Risk has its epicentre in American culture and society. Like risk society, Empire of risk is also partly a product of technocultural society. I would argue that the centrifugal distribution of 'culture of fear' or *pronounced* 'risk consciousness' has its epicentre in American society. And paradoxically, 'risks', not in the sense of industrial hazards or dangers, but of a different order seems to simultaneously gravitate towards this epicentre.

In this regard, I would like to examine first the notion of 'risk' as found in the writings of Ulrich Beck, Ian Hacking and Lee Clarke. I will also be looking at how

risk as a 'cognitive map' for the future has become pervasive and entrenched in American culture which gets reflected in its military doctrine or mode of warfare and its consequential impact on international politics. In this context, I would be looking at 'New Wars' in relation to international terrorism or global terrorism.

Further, agreeing with Ian Boal, I would like to argue that virulent terrorism, as can be seen in international terrorism or global terrorism, is a mutation of the 'Vanguard Ideal.' In this intense struggle, where the apparatus of the 'spectacle' plays an important role in the *derealization of politics*, the *possibility* of the worst case haunts popular imagination. Skeptics would call it as *probability* but the implicit 'social processes' and 'rhetorical structure' which has been 'libidanally' invested in Empire of Risk has made 'worst case' thinking not only prominent but a *possibility* waiting to happen.

The Problem

Having laid down my argument, I would like to bring out some of the 'paradoxes' of risk society. The perception of risk, the cultural criticism of science and the intelligibility of other forms of knowledge can take place only in terms of scientific rationality and in the language of modern science. This theoretical problem in sociology of science helps to understand the monopoly of science on what is "truth" and what constitute knowledge. In this context, I would like to ask how it effects our perception on 'risk.'

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devastating and unpredictable in its consequences? Does this 'culture of fear' have some connection with the feeling of 'vulnerability' towards an impending catastrophe?

Risk as 'Cognitive Map'

The world we live in today is marked by a convergence of many forces – globalization, 'overspecialization' in science and technology, global climate change and emergence of new and infectious disease – which makes the world a riskier place to live in. But risk has always been with us since time immemorial. If we were to define 'risk,'[1] most people would already have an intuitive understanding of what it means. What we meant by risks today are not an invention of modernity nor are they personal risks. Then, how is this 'risk' in late modernity different from other risks?

For Ulrich Beck, author of *Risk Society* and *World Risk Society*, 'risk' would mean *foreseeing* and *controlling* the future consequence of human action as a result of unintended consequences of 'radicalized modernization' (Beck 1999: 3). Beck essentially sees risk as a kind of 'cognitive map' to colonize the future (ibid: 3). In this regard, Hacking observation is insightful.[2] The needs to 'tame' the future arise from our need to control. Risk or uncertainty arises basically from the lack of 'information' and 'control' (Hacking 2001: 3-5). Can we then say that the lack of 'information' and 'control' and the consequential 'risk' it generates is peculiar to technocultural society?

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[1] Risk endangers a sense of *vulnerability*. The inner risk dimensions of risk are 'dread' or 'fear of the unknown.' While *dread* is "a perceived lack of control, feelings of dread, and perceived catastrophic potential;" the *fear of the unknown* refers to "the extent to which the hazard is judged to be unobservable, unknown, new, or delayed in producing harmful impacts" (See Weber, cited in Smelser 2001: 13349).

[2] Hacking argues that something on which we cannot 'enumerate' or 'classify,' we feel we do not have control over them. The reason is the notion that 'information' is all about *enumeration* and *classification*. Before the Napoleonic era, 'enumeration' and 'tabulation' was carried out by states on their subjects and privy to administrators only. After the Napoleonic era, a vast amount of the enumeration and classification was printed and published. This led to the 'avalanche of printed numbers' which became accessible to the public. Thus, 'statistics' became the basis for much of the personal and social laws. Further, Hacking adds that the introduction of 'statistics' has an enormous revolutionary impact because people began to see 'probabilities' or 'law of chance' as an alternative to strictly 'causal laws.' Hacking, therefore, states that, "the most decisive conceptual event of twentieth century physics has been the discovery that the world is not deterministic" (See Hacking 2001: 1-5).

According to Beck, "the risk regime is a function of a *new order*: it is not national, but *global*. It is rather intimately connected with an *administrative* and *technical decision-making process*" (Beck 1999: 3-4, emphasis added). Even though Beck would like to believe that risks of modernization are no longer limited by space and time, risk *perception* still differs from country to country. The reason being risk, as per Beck, is mediated by 'socio-cultural processes' such as the varying levels of scientific and technological development. If at all risk perception is taken to be global, 'risk sensibility' and 'sense making' are more likely to be confined to the urban centres of so-called third world countries.

To *perceive* risks of modernization, we have to invariably borrow from science using scientific rationality. Beck wrote that, "so long as risks are not recognized scientifically, *they do not exist* – at least not legally, medically, technologically, or socially, and they are thus not prevented, treated or compensated for. Scientific judgement's monopoly on truth therefore forces the victims themselves to make use of all the method and means of scientific analysis in order to succeed with their claims" (Beck 1996: 71, emphasis original).

Beck himself is aware of a similar paradox when he said, "For the cultural criticism of science, one must appeal to what one argues against, scientific rationality" (ibid). In other words, risk consciousness is usually both *critical* and *credulous* of science. 'Faith in science' is the paradoxical basic equipment for the critique of science (ibid: 72). This paradox is one of the theoretical problems of sociology of science. For in critiquing science, we have to use 'scientific rationality'. The monopoly of science on what is "truth" keeps us out of bound once we critique science from another world view. The practical consequence of this paradox can be seen in the case of Chinese acupuncture whose efficacy is often explained in the language of modern medicine so as to make it intelligible and receptive to a modern western educated audience.

Lupton Deborah, in her work *Risk*, observed that 'risk society' theory wavers uncertainly between a realist and weak constructionist approach (Deborah 2006: 28). Deborah examines Beck's writings and found a *realist* approach to risk. "A risk", for Beck, "is another word for a hazard or danger, and he claims that the 'risks of

modernization' are 'irreversible threats to the life of plants, animals and human beings'" (Beck cited in Deborah 2006: 59-60). She also highlights that Beck's writings reflects the social and cultural processes by which understanding and perceptions of risk are mediated which demonstrates a *weak* version of social construction. For instance, according to Deborah, Beck notes that there is a difference between a 'risk itself' and 'public perception of it.' Deborah makes this distinction after examining Becks' statement: 'It is not clear whether it is risks that have intensified or our *view* of them' (ibid).

As Deborah has observed, "the exponents of 'risk society' perspective are primarily interested in the ways in which the concept of risk is related to the conditions of *late modernity*. This perspective offers an approach that considers the politics and *macro-level* of the current meanings and strategies of risk" (ibid: 58, emphasis added). 'Risk society' perspective is increasingly becoming relevant even in the so- called third world countries due to globalization, development in science and technology, and neo-liberal policies pursued by these countries. Therefore, though the notion of risk might differ in terms of degrees with respect to third world countries, the problem of 'risk society' has also become the problem of the 'Other.' Later in his work *World Risk Society* (1999) published after his first seminal text *Risk Society* (1992), Beck asserts that "Risk society, *fully thought through*, means world risk society (Beck 1999: 19, emphasis added). Further, he adds that the hazards and dangers of radicalized modernization can no longer be 'socially delimited,' in either space or time (ibid).

Birth of 'New Wars'

The techno-scientific dominance of Western Europe which existed earlier has now shifted to America in late modernity. We can see path breaking research in frontier science like genetic engineering, nanotechnology and, space and missile technology. In the last few decades, development in cutting-edge warfare technology has grown by leaps and bounds. Particularly, the revolution in information technologies and dramatic improvements in communication and data processing in the

1980s and 1990s, has led to what is known as Revolution in Military Affairs, or Defence Transformation (Jablonsky et al., cited in Kaldor 2006: 3).

In this context, Mary Kaldor asserts that "the advent of information technology is as significant as was the advent of tank and the aeroplane... with profound implications for the future of warfare" (Kaldor 2006: 3). These changes have made modern war much 'more precise,' 'discriminate,' and minimizing casualties of the advanced countries. The preferred technique, according to Kaldor, is "spectacular aerial bombing or rapid and dramatic ground manoeuvres" (ibid). These sophisticated military techniques were used in the Gulf War of 1991, in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo, Afghanistan and, most recently in Iraq.

The emergence of a single super power at the end of the cold war and other factors contributed in important ways to the 'new wars'. This includes, according to Kaldor, the "[easy] availability of surplus arms, the discrediting of socialist ideologies, the disintegration of totalitarian empires, [and] the withdrawal of superpower support to the client regimes" which creates conditions for the 'new wars' or 'post-modern war' (ibid: 4). Thus political violence, in the words of Kaldor, becomes "more omnipresent, [and] more directed at civilians, often blurring the distinction between war and crime" (ibid: ix).

In this narrative of conflict, Kaldor points out that "Terrorism has to be understood as one variant of 'new wars' – the logical outcome of the tactics developed in contemporary conflicts" (ibid). Thus, we can see that terrorism or nihilistic terror is the outcome of asymmetric warfare and imperial domination. What emerged from this global conflict is a virulent form of 'terrorism' which has a 'transnational connection' blurring the distinction between the "internal and external, between aggression [attacks from abroad] and repression [attacks from within the country], or even between the local and global" (ibid: 2).

Mutation of the 'Vanguard Ideal'

We live in a 'world risk society,' as Kaldor argues, marked by the retreat of communism and a resurgent of a sovereign power at the centre of things (ibid: 4).

'Modernity' and 'democracy' are the watchwords of the new order replacing the old promise of 'civilization' (Boal et al., 2005: 174). The polity of this sovereign power is to declare 'unending War' – which also means a state of undeclared emergency in its home constituent, gnawing away at the very base of civil liberties and rights – for the next round of 'primitive accumulation' which sets into motion a new set of capitalist imperative marked by war and struggle for the 'absolute control of imagery' (ibid: 174,186, 187).

In response to the polity of the sovereign power, according to Boal, we have the latest mutation of the 'Vanguard Ideal' manifested by the Jihadis of revolutionary Islam which, nevertheless, is another version of the warrior ideal: A life of "dedication to hardness, ruthlessness, fierce bonding, closure against the mereness of the everyday; to a dedication finally to Death (ibid: 172)." Further, Boal adds, the warrior ideal has attracted from time to time dissatisfied groups who are disillusioned with the present order of things. But Boal also cautions that there is the danger in reducing Islam with its revolutionary vanguard (ibid: 172-73).

However, Boal argues that the phenomenon of Al-Qaida is unavoidable and fundamental (ibid: 173). The reason is not far to seek. For Boal, never before has there been so much of 'unregenerate misery' and 'disorientation' among great masses of people (ibid). The billion new city dwellers of Asia and North Africa create an environment conducive for the vanguard ideal to flourish. With increasing connectivity and revolution in Information and Communication Technology (ICT), we see the resurgence of passionate opposition equal to their opponent.

Spectacle's 'Derealization of Politics'

It is also pertinent to say here that 'risk society' is also a society of the 'spectacle.' In the words of Boal, "the spectacle is the key form of social control in present circumstances, but also a source of ongoing instability. The sheer proliferation of image-technology means that too much of the texture of everyday life is captured and circulated, and subjected to inflection outside the normal circuits of power" (ibid: 188). So image of atrocities captured in the ubiquitous cell phone or digital camera

whether it is Saddam Hussein hanging or the inhuman torture of prisoners in Abu Ghraib has the potential to send new round of suicide bombers and recruits for the Jihadis of revolutionary Islam.

The constant technical innovation in image technology has turned virtual reality into a 'constantly self-administered reality' which has an inherent potential for destabilization (ibid: 187). Further, Boal adds that the spectacle has become a 'territory of belief' which has been fantasized and psychically invested (ibid). Therefore, the state vies for absolute control of imagery. This in turn leads to "the war of websites, the ballistic exchange of images, [and] the battle to maintain (or put an end to) weak citizenship" (ibid: 186).

Boal argues that the crisis of present society is compounded by the fact of the "spectacle's uneven development world wide" (ibid: 189). According to Boal, "[The image world] offers those newly initiated into its technics *an illusion of political effectiveness* which in a world of phantasms, may go on seeming enough" (ibid, emphasis original). Thus, it becomes an instigator of new round of terror and martyrdom. In the words of Boal, "the true believers in the spectacle these days are the weibmesters of revolutionary Islam. They are the ones that drink deep, to the point of intoxication, on the spectacle's *derealization* of politics. They are the ones who go on being confident – more and more confident as the years pass – that the virtual life is the road to utopia" (ibid: 188, emphasis original).

'Possibilistic' Thinking and Bioterrorism

With the globalization of politics and the phenomenon of 'new terrorism' becoming more and more rampant, there is an increasing fear of terrorist attack of unprecedented scale using atomic, biological, and chemical Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD). Skeptics would like to dismiss that bioterrorism as represented in table top exercise like *Dark Winter*[3] as worst case scenario, which is most unlikely to happen. But such kind of approach is based on 'probabilistic' thinking rather than *possibilistic* thinking (Clarke 2006: 5).

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[3] (See Dark Winter Exercise)

Interestingly, Lee Clarke in his work *Worst Case: Terror and Catastrophe in the Popular Imagination* illustrates this difference in thinking with a 'worst case ruler.' For example, if we have a ruler used for measuring damage. The 'zero' end corresponds to no harm; the other end represents the most extreme damage one can imagine. Suppose the ruler is made of rubber and can be stretched or compressed so that the more you stretch the ruler, the more things can be included as plausible dangers. The person with worst case thinking would measure damage using the stretched ruler, whereas the person with 'probabilistic' thinking is unlikely to stretch the ruler (ibid: 17-18). Therefore, we can say that designating something as 'worst case' depends on one's point of view.

Though open societies may feel richer and safer than their opposites, they are not immune from the risk of globally relevant disaster. Modern social organization and technologies have created conditions for the calamities becoming worst case. The 'concentration of population' makes themselves into a target. As Clarke would argue that, "the process of globalization have also created new 'disaster vector' by bringing catastrophe to people far removed from the initial threat that are unique to the modern day" (ibid: 33).

The 'interdependence' and 'social networks' are the mechanisms for the distribution of harm and disaster. 'Faster' and 'cheaper modes of transportation' make it possible for diseases to spread exponentially (ibid: 33). Preston's description of how disease can travel quickly today make sense especially in the aftermath of 2003 SARS outbreak: "A hot virus from the rain forest lives within a twenty-four-hour plane flight from every city on earth. All the earth's cities are connected by a web of airline routes. The web is a network. Once a virus hits the net, it can shoot everywhere in a day – Paris, Tokyo, New York, Los Angeles, wherever plane fly" (Preston cited in Clarke 2006: 33).

The intangibility of threat from civilization due to 'overspecialization' in risk society can no longer be seen as 'only a *threat*.' As Beck observes, "we are dealing today with a *threatening possibility*, which sometimes shows a horrified humanity that it is not just a possibility, but a fact *in abeyance*" (Beck 1996: 52, emphasis original).

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The *possibility* of bioterrorist attack is justified by past events. The bioterrorist attack in the fall of 2001 showed the used of weaponized Anthrax. Analysis of the residue, according to Eric M. Meslin author of *In the Wake of Terror*, suggests that "the spores were deliberately altered using sophisticated scientific technique to enhance their capacity to kill those who came in contact with them" (Meslin 2004: 199).

Today, the US Department of Defense (DoD) maintains a list of agents that are most likely to be used in a bioterrorist attack against either civilians or troops.[4] The selected organisms fall into three broad classifications – toxins, pathogenic bacteria, and pathogenic viruses. The first group, toxins, includes organism that act in a manner similar to chemical agents (Zelicoff 2005: 138).

Table 1. Toxins

Organism	Initial Effects	Vaccine Available
Botulism	Dry mouth, blurred vision, nausea, and fatigue leading to respiratory failure	Yes
Clostridium perfringens	Intense abdominal cramps and diarrhea leading to death from dehydration	No
Ricin	Similar to Clostridium	In experimental stages
Staphylococcus enteroxin B	High fever/chills, headache, myalgia, non-productive cough, leading to septic shock and death	In experimental stages
Trichothecene mycotoxin	Weakness, ataxia, collapse, reduced cardiac output, shock, and death	No

[Source: Zelicoff 2005: 139]

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[4] All of the infectious agents listed in Table 1-3 with the exception of small pox, according to Zelicoff et al., are zoonotic diseases that can be transmitted to humans but for which human hosts are not necessary for the survival of the organism. Further, they argue that, "Zoonotic diseases tend to cause serious disease in humans, but they are virtually never seen by medical practitioners, especially in the United States". They conclude that the 'frontline physicians' in medicine are unlikely to recognise dramatic symptoms as indications of an unusual disease (See Zelicoff 2005: 141-42).

Table 2. Pathogenic bacteria

Organism	Initial Effects	Vaccine Available
Anthrax	Symptoms similar to flu, with chest discomfort that will progress to severe respiratory distress.	Yes
Cholera	Intense abdominal cramps and diarrhea leading to death from dehydration.	Yes
Plague	Initially flu-like, followed by either buboes or pneumonia.	Yes
Tularemia	Slow-growing ulcer at the site where the bacteria entered the skin (e.g., through a bite or cut); if the bacteria are inhaled, pneumonia-like symptoms can occur.	Yes

[Source: Zelicoff 2005: 140]

Table 3. Pathogenic viruses

Organism	Initial Effects	Vaccine Available
Crimean-Congo hemorrhagic fever	High fevers, severe headache, general malaise, muscle aches, confusion, sore throat, chills, sweats, non-productive cough, nausea, vomiting, diarrhea, abdominal pain, and chest pain	Yes, but restricted
Q fever	Similar to symptoms for Crimean-Congo hemorrhagic fever	Yes, but restricted
Rift Valley fever	Flu-like illness with fever, weakness, back pain, dizziness, and weight loss	Yes, but restricted
Smallpox	High fever, head and body aches, followed by rash on the extremities that progresses to raised bumps and severe blisters	Yes, but restricted
Venezualan equine encephalitis	Fever, chills, headache, nausea, vomiting, lower back pain, and myalgia, which may progress to encephalitis	Yes, but restricted

[Source: Zelicoff 2005: 141]

The emerging technologies of 'molecular biology' and 'genetics,' according to Meslin, makes the threat of genetic bioterrorism more worrisome because using these technologies the existing biological weapons can be made more efficient killers and less easy to target (Meslin 2004: 201). Moreover, Zelicoff and Bellomo argues, that advances in biotechnology (like recombinant DNA research) enables pharmaceutical companies to produce mass quantities of vaccines and life saving medicines that in turn can be used to produce vast quantities of organisms for bioweapons (Zelicoff 2005: 242). Further, using 'gene splicing' and other techniques, we can make an organism resistant to dehydration or ultraviolet (UV) radiation making them more resistant and raising the probability of a mass outbreak (ibid).

Today, scientists can create particles in the five-to-ten micron range (while the average human hair, by comparison is around fifty microns in diameter). This technique of *microencapsulation*, according to Zelicoff and Bellomo, used in allergy treatment products such as Flonase or in asthma inhalers can be used in aerosolized bioweapons like smallpox or anthrax which can be carried by tiniest air currents and which can travel for miles before being inhaled by a human or animal (Zelicoff 2005: 242-43). The smallpox outbreak in 1971 at Aralsk in the erstwhile Soviet Union is believed to be the accidental release of aerosolized smallpox virus from Vozrozhdeniye Island located in the Aral Sea – the major Soviet outdoor biological weapons testing centre. This incident has been well documented by Zelicoff and Bellomo in their work *Microbe* (ibid: 96-114).

Zelicoff and Bellomo also observe that what the Soviets accomplished with a massive program in the 1980s is now part and parcel of medical school microbiology. The techniques and tools are easily available and they have become standards in the field of molecular biology. Many American university campuses have the necessary knowledge and equipment to produce biologically hot materials. Even without genetically altering these pathogens, the germs are deadly enough on their own (ibid: 242).

Virtual Worst Cases as 'Representation'

In their book titled *Microbe*, Alan P. Zelicoff, and Michael Bellomo brings out the implication of a bioattack called the 'reloaded phenomenon.'[5] The reloaded phenomenon states that "we currently operate under a naïve assumption that terrorist will attack once and wait to see what happens. However, there is little or no reason that terrorists cannot attack multiple times, either in a different location or even the exact same one" (ibid: 152).

But, as Lee Clarke has said, "We don't want to make too much of these kinds of exercises. Virtual worst cases are *representations*" (Clarke 2006: 79, emphasis added). One would like to argue that worst case scenarios are devoid of 'ground truthing.'[6] Even if one wants to do 'ground truthing,' it is impossible with futuristic worst case scenario like a bioterrorist attack. As Clarke has argued, "Terrorist, because they live in decentralized networks and highly flexible organizations, are extremely adaptable, so predicting and modelling strategic interactions with them may be beyond our abilities" (ibid). Then what purpose does a virtual worst case serve? Clarke would say that "Virtual worst cases work best as imagination stretchers: *unreality* may in fact be their greatest virtue. They are especially helpful when there is no experience with a particular kind of hazard" (Clarke 2006: 79, emphasis original).

I would agree with Clarke as "virtual worst cases can teach less about what might happen than about how we learn. It is the process itself that is the 'lesson learned,' not the degree to which such exercises reveal our level of preparedness. The greatest utility of practicing disaster response is not actually planning but *practicing cognitive resilience* and *creating informal networks*" (Clarke 2006: 80, emphasis added). The importance of 'cognitive resilience' and 'creating informal network' became clear in Clarke's interviews with various New Jersey county officials about

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[5] The 'reloaded phenomenon' was earlier written extensively by Richard Danzig, the former Secretary of the Navy during the Clinton administration. Danzig maintains that US Navy ships are especially vulnerable to biological weapons attacks. Around 5000 people staff an aircraft carrier in a relatively confined area. In the event of a bioattack, operating a modern ship is impossible if 20 percent to 30 percent of the crew is incapacitated by illness. According to Danzig, physically destroying the aircraft carrier becomes unnecessary and this has the added benefit of bypassing the rings of defense that the U. S. Navy has spent million of dollars developing to protect its warships, such as state-of-the-art antiship, antiaircraft, and antimissile technologies (See Zelicoff, 2005: 152).

[6] Lee Clarke defines 'ground truthing' as "when someone actually goes to the place for on-site observations" (See Clarke 2006: 79).

their response to the anthrax attacks of fall 2001. From the interview, Clarke learned that a detective was able to direct some patients who were themselves suspicious of their exposure to anthrax to the most 'competent medical authority,' thus bypassing other hospitals just because of bioterrorism task force set up well before September 11. The detective wouldn't have known which hospital to recommend without the exercise (ibid).

Culture of Fear in 'Social Imaginations'

The United States government recognized the threat of bioterrorism in several ways. Eric M. Meslin wrote: "In the fall of 1997, the Department of Defense (DoD) appropriated $10 million for a study to 'define' the National Guard's 'role in the fight against chemical or biological terrorism.' Defense Secretary Cohen directed the Pentagon to take a much more direct role in domestic defense by establishing fifteen rapid assessment and detection (RAID) units. On April 10, 1998, seven scientists meet with President Clinton [to discuss] about bioterrorism and drew up a set of recommendations calling fro $1.9 billion over five years" (Meslin 2004: 204).

Scientists themselves are aware of the implication of their work. They understand that science may be used for malevolent reasons. We may try to consider scientific knowledge to be morally neutral but once it is put to use such knowledge acquire a *moral content* (ibib: 206). It is interesting to look at the controversy surrounding the issue that all smallpox stores should be eliminated (beside contravening the BTWC) so as to reduce the risk of the stores being used to "define a whole new array of bioweapons, more awesome than any now known" (Henderson and Fenner cited in Meslin: 207). Opponents who are against this argument reason that smallpox supplies should be retained, not because they can be used to design better defenses, but because of the need to design a smallpox-vaccination program (Meslin 2004: 207).[7] Meslin argued that as with "all applied science, the opposite risk

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[7] This argument that smallpox supplies should be maintained so as to design smallpox vaccine in case of any contingency does not seem to hold much water. This is especially so, if we take into account the fact that for over the past 30 years there has been no case of a natural outbreak. Moreover, unlike other pathogens, small pox is not a zoonotic disease and with the long spell of no outbreak in nature, it has been rightly concluded that small pox does no longer exist in the natural environment. Even if at all there is an outbreak, advance in biotechnology like DNA recombinant technique would be able to produce large quantities of smallpox vaccines in a few days. The 'risk' of misuse of smallpox as bioweapons is much greater, as the line that divides research for defensive or offensive purpose is thin.

– loss of research knowledge used to prevent, diagnose, and treat – must be assessed. It is not whether to do research, but what kind and under what sorts of controls" (ibid).

In the wake of 9/11 incident and the fear of SARS and Avian Influenza pandemic, there has been an increase in funding for various programs in US to counter the threat of infectious diseases. Marc Siegel, author of *Bird Flu*, wrote: "In early 2005, a powerful group of Republican lawmakers began pushing 'Bioshield 2' through Congress. The original Bioshield, signed into law in July 2004, allocated $5.6 billion dollar over ten years to the Department of Homeland Security for the purchase of countermeasures against anthrax, smallpox, and other terrorist threats. This expenditure includes allocation for 75 million doses of a second-generation anthrax vaccine to be made available for stock piling" (Siegel 2006: 97-98). Further, he writes that, "at the end of October 2005, President Bush had proposed to Congress $7.1 billion expenditure to deal with the avian flu risk... this Plan included the $2.7 billion to upgrade vaccine manufacture using the modern cell-based technology and a strategy to decrease the liability to vaccine manufacturers" (ibid: 100).

Centre for Disease Control (CDC) is now worried about the use of strain of avian influenza as a bioweapon. The fear of influenza epidemic is borne out by the Spanish flu of 1918. Influenza B occurs natively in humans, but influenza A has to mutate first. Siegel states that "Antigenic drift keeps scientist and vaccines makers on their toes, trying to match the yearly vaccine with the yearly antigenic variety of human flu" (ibid: 45). Fortunately, the barrier between birds and people is a species barrier which makes it much harder for bird flu to cross to humans than from one type of bird to another.

According to Siegel, "Theoretically, this 'merging' or 'shifting' of viral particles could happen in the body of a person carrying a human flu who also became infected simultaneously with bird flu. However, most experts believe that these shifts are more common with pigs" (ibid: 46). Further, Siegel explains that, "Pigs make an excellent mixing bowl for influenza because they are susceptible to both bird and mammal varieties. A pig infected with both a human and a bird virus at the same time can develop a hybrid.... There is simply no controlling or predicting genetics.... A deadly bird flu could become a mild human flu; and a mild bird flu could become a

deadly human one" (ibid). It is also important to note that a major influenza A pandemic seems to occur on average three to four times each century (ibid: 47).

Marc Siegel, a physician himself tell us of an interview which describes the kind of distrust and fear in the US that became pervasive in the wake of 9/11, anthrax, West Nile, SARS, and then bird flu. One of his patients, a young father, told him that "he is readying for the flu pandemic not only by stockpiling food but by keeping two rifles, ammunition, and a trained German Shepherd at the ready. He envisions a scenario where he may have to barricade himself into his house in order to protect his wife and his two young children. He expects people to be dropping dead in the streets of flu, and he anticipates strangers trying to get into his house to hide from virus" (ibid: 19-20).

Such kind of thinking seems to border close to being called a neurotic. As Clarke said "Most people seem to have spent at least some time imagining the worst thing that could happen to them.. Those who dwell on these imaginings are called paranoid. But having the thoughts and controlling them or perhaps even working them into a plan, is considered intelligent and wise" (Clarke 2006: 5). Further, he adds "What we imagine and how we imagine it are very much open to society's influences" (ibid).

Lee Clarke observes that "When we delve into horrible catastrophe we are, at bottom, delving into the social organization of thoughts and minds... the three dimensions that we usually find in worst cases: they are uncontrollable, they are overwhelming, and they happen among socially similar people. Each of these dimensions inherently involves people's considerations of the value of other people, their sense of mastery, or their feelings of power. As soon as we realize that the worst is not the same for everyone it becomes apparent that looking at ideas about worst cases is an opportunity to look at *social imaginations*" (Clarke 2006: 21, emphasis original).

Conclusion

We can surmise that the framework for the construction of Empire of Risk has already been put in place in technocultural society. I would agree with Beck and others that 'risk' is not only about 'dangers' or 'hazards' alone but also a *cognitive map* to colonize the future. In this attempt to colonize the future, risk society has spawned out 'new risk' which inhabits the *social imagination* of Americans in a more pronounced way than ever.

The fallout of *extreme* risk consciousness can be seen in the shifts of 'ethics of war' and the 'mode of warfare.' Now, war can be waged to *pre-empt* the risk of a hypothetical attack and war as a result became partly fictive and partly real. This *derealization of war* can be seen in the 'mode of warfare' played out in real battles and in real times, where the pilot of a fighter plane is engaged in a virtual war game with his opponents. In post-modern war, the distinction between the 'virtual' and the 'real war' tend to gets blur. For the pilot of F-16 or Stealth bomber, 'combat' means pressing a 'button' in his cockpit which is like playing a video game. But on the other side, war is real. It means pain and suffering and body bags. This reality of war on the 'Other' side of the divide is obfuscated and conveniently labelled as 'collateral damage.'

In this regard, the implicit 'social processes' for the 'race struggle' between the *Homo sucker* and the *Homo sacer* leading to a catastrophe seems not only immanent but also on the way to *possibility*. The scenarios of bioterrorism become the implicit 'rhetorical structure' which is *psychically* and *libidinally* invested by group disillusion with the present order of things. In this context, we can say that 'bioterrorism scenario' is an expression of extreme form of 'risk consciousness' which has its *gravitas* in Empire of Risk. By delving into the *social imagination*, we can see the 'culture of fear' that informs risk consciousness. Could these 'mind stretcher' called bioterrorism scenarios be the harbinger of a 'self-fulfilling prophecy?'

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Locating Risk, Terror and Bioterror in Empire of Risk

Introduction

In this chapter, I am looking at the notion of 'risk,' 'terror,' and 'bioterror' and how they are inter-linked to each other within the superscript called risk society. Whereas the previous chapter deals with the macro-sociological aspects of risk society, through this chapter I would like to look at the micro-sociological aspects. Following Van Loon interpretation of Latour's notion of 'risk,' I would argue that risk is a 'species' within the technocultural society.

Risk as a 'species' is born out of the 'enrollment' of various actors in which human, technologies and spirits are connected in 'ensembles' or 'assemblage' (Latour cited in Van Loon 2002: 45). Within this assemblage, the hazards or virtual objects are 'ordered' and 'revealed,' just as spirits gets manifested as an 'apparition' with the incantation of the sorcerer. In the context of risk society, 'hazards' have their basis in 'industrial *over*production.' Therefore the risks of today, as Ulrich Beck has argued, relate to the 'threatening force of modernization and to its globalization of doubt' (Beck 1996: 21).

Further, I would state that terror as a 'sub-species' exist as a virulent abject in the interstice of the social body of risk society. With the growing capacity of technical option, the incalculability of the consequence of a 'nihilistic' terror makes risk society a catastrophic society. Therefore, the use of pathogen as a bioweapons marked the beginning of bioterror as a 'sub-sub species' and a threatening *possibility* of the worst case.

The argument

The primary argument which I would like to pursue is that 'risk' is a kind of 'terror' and 'terror' is also a form of 'risk.' By interposing 'risk' and 'terror,' I would like to draw out the sense of vulnerability they generate in risk society. This sense of vulnerability – an inner dimension of risk – is further heightened by the introduction of bioterrorism in technoculture society. I would further argue that 'risk' and 'terror' as a 'species' and 'sub-species' is generated within the 'assemblage' of man, technology and spirits. They endanger a sense of vulnerability in technological culture. But they are also virulent in their *contamination* and *spreading* within the social body. This understanding of 'risk,' 'terror,' and 'bioterror' will be applied through out this chapter.

Having said this, I would like to examine, within the 'assemblage' of man, technology and spirits, the notion of 'risk' and 'biopolitics of motivation' which is closely tied to the notion of the apocalypse. In this regard, I'll be looking at Jean-Francois Lyotard's 'monadic drive' and the engendering of the apocalypse. Similarly, Virilio's study of the acceleration of the 'historical-tempo' and the 'end of humanity' in the singular would be examined, to understand how they are closely tied to the socio-economic and political structure of our time.

Further, I would examine the social production of 'wealth' and the social production of 'risks' and how this engenders a sense of vulnerability in risk society. I would argue that there is a binary opposition within the social body of risk society which is almost *irreconcilable* and this has spilled over on a global scale manifested by the phenomenon of global terrorism.

Global terrorism, I would argue, becomes possible with the disuse of 'national' economy and the emergence of 'shadow economy' which form a network connecting the remote hinterlands with the metropolitan city of the world. In this context, terrorism becomes an 'invisible' and pervasive 'nomad' which modern institutions find difficult to confront due to its inherent 'logocentric mode of organization.' Further, I would also bring out how counter-terrorism measures taken

in the form of 'war machines' is endangering liberal democracy and civil society to become a police state.

My proposition, at the end, is that within the 'assemblage' of man, technology, and virus, there is an intense struggle between 'man' and 'microbes' to 'enrolled' various actors so as to outwit each other in the game of survival. It is my proposition that just as man has intervened in the world of microbes and animals by setting off one against another, microbes have also intervened in the 'race struggle' of man through bioterrorism.

The problem

Some of the issues which will be dealt with in this chapter are: Is technological 'progress'- a runaway train leading to 'Total Accident?' In this regard, I would like to examine and compare the work of Ulrich Beck and Jean-Francois Lyotard and Paul Virilio. It is also pertinent here to ask, why man after colonizing 'territorial' and 'social body' reverts to colonize the 'human body?'[1] Further, I would also like to enquire, what drives the risk society towards the apocalypse?

Having shown the inherent nature of 'risk' embedded in technological culture; I would like to examine the discourse of 'power relations' by Michel Foucault to explain the phenomenon of 'terrorism' within the context of globalization. In this context, Van Loon interpretation of Deleuze and Guattari writings on the 'war machine' and the 'state apparatus' will be used to examine the practical difficulties faced by modern institutions in tackling the phenomenon of terrorism. The question that we have posed in the wake of increasing violence and surveillance in risk society is whether liberal democracy is heading towards a 'covert state?'

Lastly, it is pertinent to ask whether increasing surveillance and compromise on man's civil liberty is leading to losing out on other fronts as well. Within the 'assemblage' of man, technology and virus, whose biopolitics prevails at the end? Is

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[1] (ibid: 102)

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man just a pawn in this game of survival? How are we to understand the biopolitics of motivation involved in 'terrorism' and 'bioterrorism?'

Risk as a 'Species'

We are increasingly living in an age where, according to Ulrich Beck, the "unknown and unintended consequences come to be a dominant force in history" (Beck 1992: 22). The globalization of 'risk' is just one side of the changes coming about in reflexive modernity. Ulrich Beck saw a shift from classical industrial society to a new self-endangering civilization, which he calls second modernity or reflexive modernity or risk society. Escalating risks have shaken progress and transformed politics (ibid).

As globalization stretch itself more and more globally, it becomes vulnerable at a single point. The network of globalized world order itself becomes a 'vector' where transnational 'actants' may strike at any point leading to worldwide catastrophe. At the same time, this 'risk sensibility' with hazards or virtual objects is used to mobilize energy and resources to prevent the *possibility* of the worst case. It is important to note that in technological culture, the risk sensibility towards 'hazards' or 'virtual objects' may arise in any sphere of life.

The sense of vulnerability in risk society is heightened by the 'reterritorialization of risk' which shifts the attention of the people away from one risk to another (Van Loon 2002: 50). For instance, the risk of global warming and its catastrophic impact on life forms tend to shift the focus away from the risk of using nuclear energy which produces nuclear waste that will last for thousands of years. Therefore, what is perceived as risk in technological culture may emerge at anytime from the 'assemblage' of technoscience.

Technological Progress: A Runaway Train?

Ulrich Beck in his work *Risk Society* elaborates on how the 'sub-politics' of technoscience in late modernity could no longer be reined in by the judiciary and parliamentary democracy. The judiciary and parliament have become mere spectators to the unbridled scientific development taking place in the name of 'progress.' Consequentially, any assessment of hazards and excesses of industrial production were carried out by the experts whose techniques and methods were already highly skewed in favour of science. The scientific findings, instead of bringing out the ground reality, are instrumental in screening off any hazards or risks from public perception (Beck 1992: 184-87).

Similarly, Paul Virilio in his work *Crepuscular Dawn* laments the fact that technoscience is no longer under the 'trials' of religious morality or philosophy (Virilio 2002: 142 - 43). This, he said, is not only bringing the destruction of science as it reverts back to the days of myths and chimeras, but also to the extermination of the human race. Virilio argues that 'humanity is the end' and, at the same time, 'humanity is what ends it' (ibid: 158). It also means the end of human race in the singular and the birth of 'super-human' and 'sub-humans' (ibid: 105).

Lyotard: Monadic[2] Drive and the Apocalypse

As we proceed further, we may like to pose some pertinent questions on the biopolitics of motivation and the 'risk' that is generated in technological culture. One may ask, why is it that the causal arrow that moves out external to the body has reverted back to reveal the body? What propelled technoscience to engender 'cyborgs'[3] and 'genetic robots'[4] thereby threatening the human species itself? Jean-

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[2] Monads are 'non-spatial object' which inhabit the cosmic universe. They are like atoms which can change from 'matter' to 'energy' and vice versa. This dualism in monads, for example as matter-becoming-energy, is referred by Van Loon as a form of motivation to 'transcend' itself (See Van Loon 2002: 123-124).

[3] Donna Haraway in her *Manifesto for Cyborg* (1985) argue that human have become cyborgs through the process of 'technological incorporation.' It marks the beginning of 'hybrid beings.' (See Haraway cited in Van Loon 2002: 69). Paul Virilio also refers to 'bionics' i.e., the "technological prostheses that interface with the body" (See Virilio 2002: 95-96).

[4] According to Virilio, 'genetic robots' would mean "living robots, living organisms which have been roboticized through the manipulation of the genetic code" (ibid: 106).

Francois Lyotard offers one possible explanation when he asserts that "the movement within Technoculture is nothing but an attempt to survive the incumbent collapse of organic life on earth" (Lyotard cited in Van Loon 2002: 84). In other words, risk of extermination of the human race is the consequence of 'monadic' drive of technoscience to develop 'thought without a body.'

According to Lyotard, human is a 'multiplicity' which acts as a 'transformer' for the complexity of thought in the universe. In anticipation of the collapse of organic life on earth, monadic drive of technoscience endangers the extinction of the human race. This is a paradox which according to Lyotard can be called the 'apocalypse.' This is so, since the success of monads to maintain the complexity of thought in the universe through rapid development in technoscience would also mean monads' failure to preserve human i.e., the 'transformer' that supplements the complexity in the universe (Lyotard cited in Van Loon 2002: 85).

Virilio: Historical-tempo and the Total Accident

However, Paul Virilio gave an alternative explanation from Lyotard and argues that the acceleration of the 'historical-tempo' [5] through techno-scientific progress brings human to an end – the accident of knowledge. According to Virilio, "the end does not mean the end of the world. It means the end of *a* world.... The revelation of the body also provoked the end. But humans provoked this conclusion through techno-scientific progress, the progression of the techno-sciences" (Virilio 2002: 158, emphasis original). Here, the 'end' does not mean the 'extinction' of human as in the case of Lyotard's apocalypse, but the 'extermination' of the human race in the singular (ibid: 107).

According to Virilio, the acceleration that brings human to an end – the mutation of the human race - was due to the 'commerce of capitalism' leading to what he calls the 'globalization of the market in the inside' (ibid: 101). Unlike Lyotard's 'monad' which is driven by the need for survival which ultimately leads to the

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[5] For Paul Virilio, the 'historical tempo' would mean the *milieu*. According to him, speed is not about 'time' but the milieu. Therefore, the acceleration of historical tempo is the acceleration of reality (See Virilio 2002: 151).

annihilation of man, Virilio's extermination of the human race is due to the onslaught of capitalism. Derrida argue that "capitalism absorbs all forms, be it human beings, object, forms of exchange, or ideologies, and turns them into expressions of capital - it imposes the commodity form on all recognized entities" (Derrida cited in Van Loon 2002: 67). In this regard, Sylvere Lotringer commented "biotechnology is a way of preparing bodies for a global world" (Lotringer cited in Virilio 2002: 101).

Terror as a 'sub-species'

In risk society, the social production of wealth is systematically accompanied by the social production of risks. Wealth and power are defining concepts of classical modernity, but the signature concepts of reflexive modernity are 'risk' and 'uncertainty' (Beck 1992). Risk means not knowing what will happen but knowing the probabilities of the possible outcomes. Vulnerability or uncertainty, on the other hand, means not knowing the probabilities of the possible outcomes, or what all the outcomes might be (Knight cited in Boyne 2003). Both 'risk' and 'vulnerability' are closely tied to each other. They are two sides of the same coin. In other words, 'risk' is the outer dimension of 'vulnerability', while 'vulnerability' constitutes the inner dimension of 'risk.' As such, terrorism has to be understood in the context of risk and vulnerability.

Terrorism may evoke certain imagery and hostile feelings in a way that other words connoting violence do not. As H.H.A. Cooper points out, "Terrorism has become a battle for the moral high ground, with those in legitimate power trying to preserve their positions against opponents bent on dragging them into the gutter" (O'Day 2004: xii). He further ask, "How can terrorism be defined when the process of defining is wholly frustrated by the presence of *irreconcilable antagonisms*? It is certainly not easy to define, much less comprehend" (Cooper 2001: 1, emphasis added).

Discourse on 'power relations'

Foucault's discourse on 'power relations' can throw light on the nature of *this antagonism*. The binary opposition *within* the society which he saw as an ongoing

perpetual war continued to be played out even in peace time (Foucault 2003: 51). For him "politics is a continuation of war by other means" (ibid: 47). And "peace itself is a coded war" (ibid: 51). In this historico-political discourse of 'race struggle,'[6] the subject who speaks cannot be neutral. He is on one side or the other. He is caught up in the battle, has adversaries, and is fighting to win. He is trying to assert a right; but it is his right that is at the issue and it is a singular right. And when he also speaks about the truth, he is also speaking about the perspectival discourse and strategic truth that will allow him to be victorious (ibid: 52).

Similarly, Zizek, drawing on Agamben's distinction between the full citizen and *Homo sacer,* brings out the notion of *Homo sucker* and *Homo sacer* (Zizek 2002: 91). *Homo sucker,* according to Zizek, is the gullible mainstream and *Homo sacer* would mean the marginalized. But how is it that the 'war' between *Homo sucker* and *Homo sacer* has transcended the social body of the State and spilled over on a global scale?

Some of Foucauldian thoughts can help us in the analysis of contemporary globalization and the 'war against terrorism.' According to Foucault, with the growth and development of States throughout the Middle Ages, the practices and institutions of war underwent evolution. War came to be concentrated in the hands of a central power with the prerogative and the means to wage war; as a result, 'private warfare' was eradicated from the social body and wars, the practices of war, the institutions of war tended to exists only on the frontiers (Foucault 2003: 48). In other words, the entire social body *within* the State was cleansed of the bellicose relations and the 'enemy within' was replace by 'Enemy at the Gates.'

In today's world of increasing connectivity, 'global terrorism' is the return from exile of that Enemy. The reason being capitalism, which has reached the limits of its frontiers. There are no more frontiers to be won and no Enemy to be confronted at the Gates. Swamped and overwhelmed by the fluidity of the new global order, the 'new enemy' – silent, invisible, stealthy, and widespread – resides within the

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[6] 'Race struggle' or 'racial binarism' in Foucault usage is not the same as racism or clash between two distinct races but the struggle between the 'obverse' (mainstream) and 'underside' (marginalized) of the race in a social body (See Foucault 2003: 61).

interstices of the social body of the new world order waiting to strike the network of globalized world order. The end of Cold War and the advent of a new hegemonic order led to this transformation.

Shadow Economy

In the contemporary globalized world, according to Mark Duffield who authored *Global Governance and the New Wars*, the frontiers of economic and political power are changing and the territorial notions of the state are getting destabilized. Ideas of a 'national' economy have now fallen into disuse in the North as well as in the South and replaced by 'transborder trade' or 'shadow economy' (Duffield 2002: 144-45). The shadow economy is non-conventional, extra-legal, unrecorded, unregulated and cross border in character. And such activity can relate to trade in both legal and illegal goods and services (ibid: 145).

Further, Duffield in his work brings out how these shadow economies operate through trans-regional smuggling routes and forging of local connections with unregulated global trade in legal or illegal commodities. According to Castells, "in the mid-1990s, for example, the UN estimated that the global trade in drugs, at $500 billion a year or around 8 per cent of world trade, was larger than the oil business" (Castells cited in Duffield 2002: 142). This estimate was low when compared to some estimates; the overall profit from all criminal activities was put at $750 billion (ibid: 142).

Drawing on Manuel Castells terminology, Duffield states that "the networks of transborder trade are multileveled systems intersected by nodes of producers, traders, fixers, carriers, suppliers, and so on" (ibid: 147). It is through this network of transborder trade that most of the illegal arms and weapons are bought and traded off by different warring parties and groups. Likewise, arms and weapons used by various transnational actors get channeled through this route. In the words of Duffield, these "networks are capable of linking some of the most remote areas of the world with the advanced technological heartlands of metropolitan society" (ibid).

Nomadology of Risk

In the wake of increasing virulence of the global terrorism, Van Loon interpretation of Deleuze and Guattari writings on *nomos* (code or cipher) and *logos* (law) help us to understand contemporary terrorism in the light of 'nomadology of risk'[7] and expose the weakness of the 'logocentric mode of organization' of modern institution to counter terrorism. From Van Loon's 'nomadology of risk', we can understand that global terrorism, like any other risk, is 'nomadic' in character (Van Loon 2002: 81-82). Added to that, global terrorism is not only 'nihilistic' but also has a 'symbolic dimension' to it (Baudrillard 2001: 2). Therefore, the state apparatus find it extremely difficult to confront global terrorism.

According to Deleuze and Guattari, state apparatus are organized on 'territoriality' and encoded with 'law.' As a consequence, it is an 'autopoietic' system that can deal with the operation of other systems only if they are being 'translated' in the language of law (Deleuze cited in Van Loon 2002: 81). Therefore, in the wake of 9/11 attack, the incident is described as a "criminality of war." This statement exposes the insufficiency of the language of law to deal with risk of international terrorism that disrupts the 'politics of representation' of the state apparatus (Van Loon 2002: 81). The virulence of terrorism which have emerged from the fissures and cracks of institutionalized modernity is seen as exteriorized 'risk' by the state apparatus organized in 'logocentric mode of organization' (ibid: 83).

Similarly, Jean Baudrillard speaking in the context of globalization and the new global order argue that terrorism, like virus, is everywhere. Immersed globally, terrorism emerged as a double agent. There is no boundary to define it. It is embedded in the very core of this culture which is secretly linked to the internal fracture of the dominant system (Baudrillard 2001: 4). This difference in perception of terrorism as a risk that is exteriorized or interiorized has to do with the mode of organization of modern institutions.

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[7] Van Loon's 'nomadology of risk' is drawn from the discussion of Deleuze and Guattari's writings on the war machine and the state apparatus to develop a sense of 'risk' in relation to 'violence' and 'transgression' (See Van Loon 2002: 81-84).

As pointed out earlier, global terrorism is organized as *nomos*, which write itself in the "formation of packs, who innovate but do not settle" (Van Loon 2002: 81). This enables the "spatially dispersed, autonomous cell to disappear from the surveillance systems of the state apparatus because they are so iterant" (ibid: 82). While the *nomos* of 'pure movement' and 'deterritorialization' mark the terrorist organization, the *logos* of 'grid' and 'territorializes' domain sets up the state apparatus. Therefore, Van Loon wrote, it is extremely difficult to confront *monos* with *logos* (ibid). His argument is that the state apparatus which is organized along 'logocentric mode of organization' cannot engage effectively with the phenomenon of transnational terrorist which is organized along 'war machine.'

The character of 'Sandman'[8] in the movie *Spider-Man 3* represents the 'nomadology of terror' in technoculture society. In the movie, an escaped convict Flint Marko, falls into a particle accelerator and is transformed into a shape-shifting sand manipulator. Whenever cops tried to confront him, 'Sandman' simply dissipates and floats away This movie exemplified the new face of global terrorism and how the state apparatus finds it difficult to confront the 'nomadic' character of terror in world risk society.

The anomaly of state emergency that curbs civil liberties by increasing state surveillance on its citizens, the establishment of new bases outside the jurisdiction of US law to imprison alleged terrorist, and use of military force and air power to combat international terrorism leading to indiscriminate killing and destruction (labeled as 'collateral damage') etc., are some of the unfortunate consequence of confronting *monos* with *logos*. In order to confront highly mobile, autonomous terrorist cell, US government and other western countries have pursued the policy of rolling out its own nomadic 'war-machine' i.e., *specialized individuals* or *logistical couples*[9]. These logistical couples are a conversion of the national armed forces beyond the creation of "rapid response commandos" (Virilio 2000: 76).

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[8] (See *Spider-Man 3* official website).
[9] This logistical couple, according to Virilio, is best exemplified by Rambo and his Vietnamese wife. As Rambo said: "To survive a war, you become that war." The logic of logistical couple is "to survive terrorism... you *become terrorism*" (See Virilio 2000: 76).

War Machine

The closest illustration of real life covert operation of the 'war machine' can be seen in Stephen Spielberg movie *Munich*.[10] During the 1972 Olympic Games in Munich, eleven Israeli athletes are taken hostage and murdered by a Palestinian terrorist group known as *Black September*. In retaliation, the Israeli government under Prime Minister Golda Meir recruits a killer squad of five, drawn from Mossad agents to track down and execute Palestinian terrorist leaders suspected of planning the attack. A team of five, relying on paid informants, tracks down and kill several in Europe and Lebanon. Unlike other Mossad agents who were employed by the State, this 'war machine' does not have an identity within the intelligence community. They were not under the payroll of Israeli State or any of its agencies. Therefore, they have no 'legal ties' with its parent organization. This was done by the Israeli State to avoid any international pandemonium, while at the same time keeping itself away from the purview of international law.

As Virilio rightly points out, the terrorist tactics employed by the 'war machines' whether by the oppressed or by the police, subverts the rule of law - civil and international, which is devastating and catastrophic (Virilio 2000: 76). According to Virilio, "the future of national defense is no longer solely this 'freeing' of war for those resisting an invader superior in number and in armaments. Soon it will be the *freeing of crime*, the training of *mass killers*, paramilitary assassins, licensed criminals assigned to 'terrorist units'" (ibid: 77, emphasis original). In the wake of terror and frequency of covert operation within and outside the State, civil society is heading towards what Virilio calls 'civil terrorism' and 'mass killer' (ibid). In the given context of global terrorism and increasing surveillance, it is pertinent to ask, whether we are heading towards a 'covert state.'

Bioterrorism as a 'sub-subspecies'

Zelicoff and Bellomo in their work *Microbe* wrote that after five people were slain and nineteen sickened by the letter-borne anthrax weapons in 2001, the National

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[10] (See *Munich* official web site).

Security Council (NSC) was asked to come up with an "implementable, near-real-time, cost effective process for identifying a bioweapons attack" (Zelicoff 2005: 173). American society today is the most 'watched' of all, with CCTV monitoring every move of the citizens (not to mention 'orbital intelligence' in the sky) and now with the 'project called BIOWATCH,[11] surveillance have even extended to microbes so as to *pre-empt* the risk of a pandemic arising from bioterrorist attack (ibid).

Similar project called BIOSENSE [12] and BIOSHIELD [13] are soon to be operational (ibid). However, such projects are far from becoming a foolproof system to check any bioterrorist attack. For instance, one major flaw of BIOWATCH which the planners of NSC soon realized was that all kinds of unknown pathogens are likely to turn up in the filter paper and they would not be able to know if there was a low, high, or abnormal number of any given organism (ibid: 174).

With increasing population and connectivity due to globalization, diseases can spread rapidly. Pandemic could trigger due to a natural outbreak, an accident in a lab, or bioattack from a non-State or State actor. Although medical treatments may be available, giving treatments to hundreds and thousands of people quickly is another matter. The work of Zelicoff and Bellomo expose the conditions conducive to major public health crisis: gaps in information and communication chains, deployment and distribution strategies, and containment plans, and more (See Zelicoff 2005).

Biopolitics of Motivation

As Van Loon observed, agents of risks whether it is a virus or toxins relates to the process of 'contamination' and 'spreading' (2002: 123). In his work *Risk and Technological Culture*, Van Loon brings out 'biopolitics of motivation' for the contamination and spreading of the pathogens (ibid). He argues that pathogens

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[11] BIOWATCH project is an air-monitoring device emplaced around the country to perform "aerosol surveillance" (See Zelicoff 2005: 173).
[12] BIOSENSE project is a national disease surveillance system soon to be put in place (ibid).
[13] BIOSHIELD project is to identify and manufacture new antibiotics, antiviral drugs, and vaccines in large quantities in case of any epidemic (ibid).

motivation for 'self-preservation' through replication[14] makes us ill. Therefore, like waste of industrial society, viruses in excess are "virulent abjects of modernity" (ibid). Also, Van Loon observed that unlike radioactive particle which has only a transcendent motivation,[15] virus has both 'immanent' and 'transcendent' motivation (ibid: 124).

Elaborating further, Van Loon states that "when a cell is infected by a virus, the virus appropriates the infected cell's DNA for its own reproduction; it thus incorporates the body's genetic information, as it becomes incorporated into the body. This symbiosis is the essence of any parasitic relationship" (ibid: 144). According to him, "the virus... 'reads' the DNA as information for its own reproduction as it cannot 'live' without it. Hence the virus is also rendering an account and is also reading the body's genetic information, to enroll the body itself into specific actor network" (ibid).

Similarly, Deleuze and Guattari argue that it is not human but a 'machinic assemblage' that engenders 'history' (Deleuze and Guattari cited in Van Loon 2002: 144). Likewise, Lyotard asserts that technoculture is driven by the 'monads' of technoscience (Lyotard in Van Loon 2002: 84). As mentioned earlier, Lyotard asserts that "the movement within technoculture is nothing but an attempt to survive the incumbent collapse of organic life on earth" (ibid). In other words, risks is seen as a consequence of technoculture drive for 'self-preservation' which generates 'excesses' or 'force' or 'flow' seen as risk in logocentric mode of organization.

From the analysis of the pathogen virulence, according to Van Loon, we can see there are doubts that technologies and virus are not simply enrolled by humans. They too have motivations which remain unintelligible to us. Therefore, the rendering of an account of infectious disease, or public health risks, may not be purely 'biopolitics' and 'body politics' of human (Van Loon 2002: 144-45).

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[14] In replication, the virus borrows genetic material (DNA or RNA) and ribosome from their host to reproduce (See Van Loon 2002: 123).
[15] Van Loon argues that radiation itself is a form of motivation, for example as matter-becoming-energy, although it is not part of the strategy for radio active particle to replicate (See Van Loon 2002: 123).

Virus intervenes in the 'race struggle'

Further in agreement with Lyotard and others, I would like to add here that 'monads' being immanent which inhabits the 'cosmic circumstance,' it has no motivation for 'self preservation' i.e., replication. The monadic drive of technoscience is then to maintain the complexity in the universe and human act as the 'transformer' that supplements this complexity (Lyotard cited in Van Loon 2002: 85). However, unlike monads, human and virus has the motivation for 'self preservation' and 'transcendence.'

It is my proposition that within the assemblage of human, technology, and virus, there is an intense struggle between 'human' and 'virus' for survival. Since the coming of science, man has employed technology to avoid 'symbiosis' (transgression) with harmful pathogens, but at the same time seek 'transcendence' (self preservation) through the use of 'prostheses.' This has been described by Virilio as leading to the end of human race in the singular, heralded by the coming of the 'cyborgs' (hybrid man) and 'genetic robots' (super-human and sub-humans).

Similarly, we can see that virus has also 'enrolled' technology and human, to resist the *containment* and *immunization*, by using technoscience to 'transgress' the human body and 'innovate' itself. This can be seen in 'man' use of biotechnology to produce biological hot materials. The use of pathogens in bioterrorism and biological warfare marks the beginning of pathogens intervention in the biopolitics of man. Microbiology intervention in the biopolitics of macrobiology is motivated by the need for 'self preservation' and 'transcendence' through transgression for "it cannot 'live' without it" (Van Loon 2002: 144). Just as man intervenes in the world of microbes and animals by setting off one against another, microbe intervenes in the 'race struggle' of man through virulence.

Conclusion

We can say that the notion of 'risk,' 'terror,' and 'bioterror' share a particular constellation within risk society. This constellation generates 'uncertainty' and

'vulnerability' in risk society because they are virulent in the way they *contaminate* and *spread* within the social body. In this process of 'becoming' various actors are 'enrolled' within the 'machinic assemblage' of technological society.

I would argue that the notion of 'risk,' 'terror,' and the 'apocalypse' is also shaped by the 'social structure' and 'ego-centrism' of the speaker. In this regard, I would like to point out that Donna Haraway see the coming of the cyborg (hybrid man) as the harbinger of a new beginning – a new rebirth (Haraway cited in Van Loon 2002: 69-70), while Virilio and others laments the end of the human race in the singular, the beginning of the 'Total Accident.' We can clearly see that our perception on what is 'risk,' 'terror,' or the 'apocalypse' depends on the *perspectival* and *strategic positions* one occupies.

Haraway's cyborg-feminism, perhaps see in the apocalypse, the 'transgression' of male-female boundary and the erasure of patriarchal ideology (Haraway cited in Van Loon 2002: 69-70). However, from a male ego-centric perspective, the apocalypse marks the beginning of 'ambivalence' and 'uncertainty' for it threatened the privilege 'male ego' position as the centre of the universe.

Further, I would argue that if the dominance of the male ego-centric is threatened by the revealing of the human body through technoscience and biotechnology, it is also endanger by the virulence of microbes. I would argue that just as man intervene in the world of microbiology through biotechnology; microbes also intervene in the biopolitics of man, thereby threatening the very survival of the human race. If male dominance in a gendered world is made perilous by *mutation* of the human race, the physical existence of the human body is also threatened by *transgression* from the world of microbes.

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Chapter 3

Apocalypse in Popular Culture:

Examining the 'Interpenetration' of Religious and

Secular Apocalypse

Introduction

In this chapter, I am using narrative as a scalpel to dissect religious and secular apocalypse scenarios like *Left Behind* and *Sleeper Cell* as found in American popular culture and try to examine whether the stories of these novels have some connection with the contemporary international politics we see today. While rendering the story of the apocalypse, I would like to bring out the cultural symbolism involved and its role in shaping perception, on certain issues.

For once, in the act of narrativization, I would focus my lens to 'order' and 'reveal' the inner conflict and struggle of the protagonists, which seems to reflect the embeddedness and inner struggle of real life actors of 'social drama' caught in a web, not of their own making. Nevertheless, the actors are complicit for being part of the same order and the consequences of this symbiotic relationship can no longer be ignored. Hence, the pertinent question is "Do the actors have some kind of agency over their destiny?"

The Argument

In this context, I would like to argue that there is a connection between the narratives on apocalypse of popular culture and contemporary international politics, which becomes visible by examining their 'interpenetration,' using Victor Turner interpretation of Richard Schecher's 'aesthetic' or 'staged drama' and 'social drama.' According to Schecher's eight figure loop placed in a horizontal position (Figure 1, pp 48), the manifest performance of 'staged drama' gets subsumed as the implicit rhetorical structure

for the 'social drama.' Following similar pattern, the overt 'social drama' also gets subsumed as the implicit social process for the next 'staged drama,' thereby completing the loop (Turner 1981: 150).

Figure 1: Richard Schecher's Eight Loop Figure Place in a Horizontal position
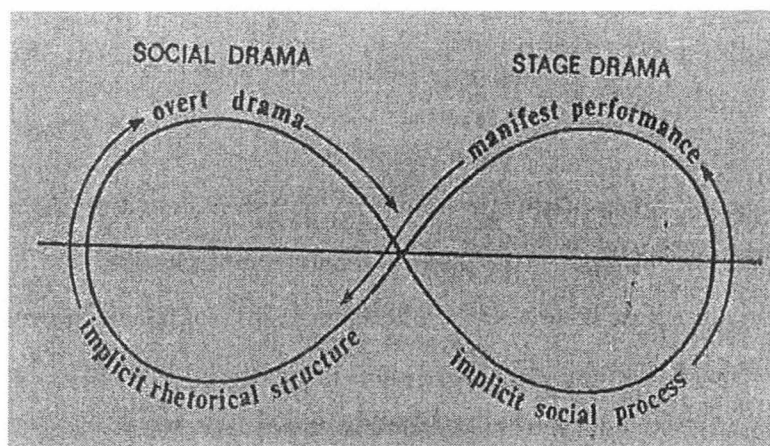
[Source: Turner 1981: 150]

The enactment of the 'staged drama' and the 'social drama' is applied throughout the chapter by selecting two different sets of popular apocalypse: Left Behind series and *Sleeper Cell*. Though both of these novels belong to the same genre, they portray two different set of scenarios. The former deals with the end-time scenarios as found in Christian eschatology and the later depicts a bioterrorist attack in some of the cities of United States. I would argue that, using Schecher's horizontally placed eight figure loop, there is a linkage between the two different sets of scenarios. This linkage would unfold itself as I proceed to dissect the novels using the narratives primarily of Hayden White, Paul Ricoeur and Cheryl Mattingly's interpretation of Ilongot hunters' stories.

Having said this, I would like to explain as to why I've chosen the first four novels of the fifteen books in the series: *Left Behind* (1995), *Tribulation Force* (1996), *Nicolae* (1997), and *Soul Harvest* (1998) as manifest performance of a 'staged drama.' One of the reasons is that these Left Behind novels were written much before American invasion of Iraq in 2003 and the end-time scenario depicted in them have deep symbolic meanings and run

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strikingly parallel to the contemporary international politics played out in the Middle East. The invasion of Iraq in 2003 by George W. Bush Jr. is taken by me as an overt 'social drama' informed by the implicit rhetorical structure of Left Behind narratives in the unfolding dynamic flow of Schecher's horizontally placed eight figure loop.

The *Sleeper Cell* first published in 2005 after the US invasion of Iraq in 2003 is taken as a staged drama, following similar pattern to complete Schecher's eight figure loop, thereby engendering an open-ended social drama of the coming plague of bioterror. I would like to argue that just as the staged drama of *Left Behind* gets subsumed as the 'implicit rhetorical structure' for the overt social drama of Iraqi invasion, the 'implicit social process' and the 'implicit rhetorical structure' for bioterrorism is already in place.

Bioattack does not seem to be far fetched, if we look at the "close encounter of religious eschatology of the apocalypse, an immanent nihilism, and the modernist teleology of progress" within the technoculture society (Van Loon 2002: 136). In other words, the template for bioterrorism is already there in risk society. The 'race struggle' within the social body of modern nation state has *transcended* beyond its borders and got *transmuted* as biopolitics of macrobiology.

The Problem

Now, I would like to bring to your attention, the 'passivity' or 'ambivalence' shown by Christians mainly with a dispensationalist view towards global disarmament of WMD and world peace. I would like to locate this paradox which I called the 'dispensationalist paradox,' to distinguish it from Marsden notion of premillennial paradox, within the 'millennialist discursive field.' Further, I would argue that the dispensationalist paradox has moved beyond its socio-cultural field and have impacted on political and ecological environment.

Having shown the 'complicity' of the actors of 'social drama' to the politics they intervene, I argue that the 'paradox of liberal democracy' and 'race struggle' within modern nation state has *transcended* and *transmuted* to become the biopolitics of

macrobiology in world risk society. Further, I would argue that 'War Against Terror' is the global manifestation of the 'intersection' of these two paradox namely, the dispensationalist and the liberal democracy paradox. These two paradoxes, with all its implicit social process and rhetorical structure, located within technological culture *reinforce[1]* the 'staged drama' and the 'social drama' for the coming plague.

Religious Apocalypse: *Left Behind*

Before we examine the four novels of Left Behind[2] series: *Left Behind* (1995), *Tribulation Force* (1996), *Nicolae* (1997), and *Soul Harvest* (1998), using narrative as a scalpel, we need to understand the genre or literary type and the approaches or interpretations of the *Book of Revelation*, on which these novels are based, so as to avoid confusion and conflicting viewpoints. According to the theologian Prof. C. Marvin Pate of the Moody Bible Institute, "Revelation consists of a mixture of three genres: apocalyptic, prophetic, and epistolary" (Pate 2005: 11). For Alan F. Johnson, "Revelation is...commonly viewed as belonging to the body of nonbiblical Jewish writings known as apocalyptic literature... The extrabiblical apocalyptic books were written in the period from 200 B.C. to A.D 200. Usually scholars stress the similarities of the Apocalypse of John to these noncanonical books – similarities such as the use of symbolism and vision, the mention of angelic mediators of the revelation, the bizarre images, the expectation of divine judgment, the emphasis on the kingdom of God, the new heavens and earth, the dualism of this age and the age to come" (Johnson cited in Pate 2005: 11).

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[1] The impress of personalities on culture and symbolism that connects event and element got drawn into the given Schecher horizontally placed eight figure loop model (See Sapir, White and Pepper cited in Turner 1981: 141).

[2] Four of Tim LaHaye apocalyptic novels, coauthored with Jerry Jenkins', *Left Behind* (1995), *Tribulation Force* (1996), *Nicolae* (1997), and *Soul Harvest* (1998), have appeared on the Christian Book – sellers Association's best selling fiction list and the Publishers Weekly religion best-seller list. Left behind was nominated for Novel of the Year by the evangelical Christian Publishers Association in both 1997 and 1998 (See LaHaye 1995: 469). *Kingdom Come* is the final book in the best-selling Left Behind series. The first fifteen books in the series, with sales of more than 43,000,000 comprise the fastest-selling adult fiction series ever. Seven of the titles reached number one on the *New York Times* Best Seller List as well as those of *USA Today, The Wall Street Journal*, and *Publishers Weekly*. See *Left Behind* official website.

As to the interpretation of the Apocalypse, there are four major ways: *preterist*, *historicist*, *futurist*, and *idealist* (Pate 2005: 17). Tim LaHaye and Jerry Jenkins's Left Behind novels are based on the *futurist* scheme of interpretation mainly following the *dispensationalist viewpoint* and they gave a 'literal interpretation' of the Book of Revelation in their novels. And dispensationalism, one of the varieties of *premillenialism*, which gave a literal interpretation of the Book of Revelation, is the most popular form of interpretation of the Apocalypse among the masses (in America) in the twentieth century (ibid: 28). The biblical word 'dispensation,' refers to the "administration of God's earthly household" (ibid). Further, Pate adds that "Dispensationalists divide salvation history into historical eras or epochs in order to distinguish the different administrations of God's involvement in the world" (ibid). In Cook's interpretation, 'dispensation' means that "God has foreordained the development of human history and divided it into seven distinct ways of dealing with human beings" (2004: 202).[3] And such a view of history is known as 'dispensationalism.'

The First Rider of the 'Four Horse of the Apocalypse'

If we look into the fictive account of *Left Behind*, we find that soon after the worldwide disappearance of millions of people in a cataclysmic moment (called Rapture in Christian eschatology[4]), Nicolae Carpathia, the Romanian leader swept to international power as head of the United Nations, promising to unite the devastated globe as one peaceful village. Coming from an aristocratic family, Nicolae was well-versed in international

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[3] Cook developed his idea of 'dispensationalism' mainly from the prophetic chart developed by A. E. Booth in 1896 called *The Course of Time from Eternity to Eternity*. This chart is already in its thirty-eight printing, selling nearly 500,000 copies since its first printing in 1896 and more than 100,000 copies of the accompanying guide has been sold (See Cook 2004: 209-210). Many modern dispensationalists, however, have grown uncomfortable with this periodization, preferring the old and the new covenants (See Pate 2005: 29).

[4] During the seven years of the 'Great Tribulation' after the Rapture, there will be three consecutives sets of judgments – seven seals in a scroll, which is call the Seal Judgments; seven trumpets; and seven bowls. As the scroll is opened and the seals are broken, revealing the judgments, the first four are represented by horsemen – the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse. The fifth, sixth and seven seal referred to the martyrdom of the saints, an earthquake, and then silence in heaven. The 'Four Riders of the Apocalypse' herald the coming of the Tribulation: each of the four horse – white, red, black, and pale horse represents the Antichrist, war, famine, and death (ibid: 66-67, 71). By the time of the "glorious appearing" of Jesus which will take place at the end of the Tribulation, three-fourths of the world's remaining population will be wiped out (See LaHaye 1996: 60, 64, 66-67; 431-432).

politics and diplomacy (LaHaye 1995: 436). What is remarkable in the narrative is the symbolism interwoven in the story along with the background and character of the main protagonist. This is significant as most dispensationalist end-times writers believe that the Antichrist[5] (also called the 'Apostle of Peace') will come out of Western Europe. One of the protagonists in the narrative, Pastor Bruce, has mentioned that the Antichrist will come out of Western Europe: Greece, Italy or Turkey (ibid: 435).

As given in the story, Nicolae Carpathia was born in the university town of Cluj, in Romania and he was supposed to be named after the Carpathian Mountains in Eastern Europe (ibid: 436). In medieval times, the Carpathian Mountains were considered to be the last frontier of Christendom. It is near this boundary between the Christendom and the 'heathen world' that Dracula was believed to be born, made immortal by Bram Stoker's *Dracula*.[6] The symbolism involved is significant as it mark the civilizational divide between 'Self' and 'Other' in Medieval Europe. This symbolism is still very much alive in today's international politics as can be seen in labels like 'Axis of evil'[7] which has to be necessarily found outside the western world.

En-presenting the 'Modest Witness' of the Apocalypse

For a moment, in the act of narrativization, I would focus on some of the actors' inner turmoil and conflict. The protagonists of the Left Behind series, mainly the Tribulation Force, knew that they were 'actants' of the Apocalypse within the larger meta-narrative of the Biblical story from Genesis to Revelation. The interests, motivation or intentions of the 'actants' as in Actor Network Theory was addressed by Donna Haraway in her

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[5] According to prophetic writers, the Antichrist and his kingdom represent the first rider of the 'Four Horse of the Apocalypse' who will inaugurate the first Seal Judgment of the Tribulation (ibid: 64, 66-67, 71).

[6] Most authorities believe that the character of Dracula in Bram Stoker's novel was based on the historical figure Vlad Tepes, who intermittently ruled an area of the Balkans called Wallachia (in present-day southern Romania) in the mid 15th Century. He was also called by the names Vlad III, Vlad Dracula and Vlad the Impaler. He was legendary for his fight against the Ottoman Turks and inhuman cruelty against his enemies. See Ray Porter.

[7] The term 'Axis of evil' was used by United States President George W. Bush in his State of the Union Address on January 29, 2002 to describe governments that he accused of sponsoring terrorism and seeking weapons of mass destruction. Bush named Iraq, Iran, and North Korea in his speech. See Bush, George W (2002).

work called *Modest Witness* (Van Loon 2002: 66-67). The question of morality, of infinity, or a sense of beyond cannot be avoided in the face of anticipated suffering and uncertainty with a catastrophe like the worldwide disappearance of people following the Rapture.

We find that, soon after the Rapture, the protagonists of the *Left Behind* narratives constitute what they called the Tribulation Force (TF), a core group determined to challenge the forces of evil during the Tribulation period. The members of TF were Rayford Steele, pilot for a Boeing 747; his teenaged daughter Chloe; Cameron – "Buck" - Williams, a senior staff writer of a prestigious news magazine; and Pastor Bruce. The TF form a node within the larger network of worldwide insurrection against the Global Community Potentate, Nicolae Carpathia. And they see in the person of Carpathia, the Antichrist who will herald the beginning of the Tribulation.

As leader of the Tribulation Force, Rayford Steele finds himself entrusted with the task of standing against Nicolae Carpathia, the new world leader, who quickly rose to worldwide prominence in almost an overnight. Through a bizarre sets of circumstances, both Rayford and Buck become employees of Carpathia – Rayford his pilot; Buck, publisher of *Global Community Weekly*. Like the 'modest witness' of Haraway (ibid: 67), both Rayford and Buck knew that they cannot oppose him directly as any opposition was unlikely to succeed. They knew that they were already somehow complicit with the world they intervene in. Their predicament was of someone who is suspicious and aware of the eternal consequence of being part of the opposite camp. They were caught in a web through the pull of circumstances and now their soul was at 'risk.' They knew the sequences of events that were soon going to follow: the three consecutive sets of judgments – the Seal Judgments; Seven Trumpets; and the Seven Bowls. But at the same time, they were also ignorant of how things will turn out with themselves and with the world. But they were determined to survive the Great Tribulation, if not with their own life, but with their own soul.

The 'Apostle of Peace'

In the fictional narrative, Nicolae Carpathia, the Apostle of Peace[8] tries to bring world peace through global disarmament. He was at his diplomatic best when he offered a simple formula for world peace. Nicolae suggested that the governments shall disarm and destroy all but ten percent of their weapons which shall be donated to United Nations (UN) - the sole authority who will have the mandate and the wherewithal to play the role of a global peace keeping body (LaHaye 1995: 274). In the backdrop of worldwide confusion and chaos, the solution offered by him was almost irresistible. Further, Nicolae advocated for empowering the UN, bringing in one common currency and thus, truly fulfilling the concept of a global village (ibid).

Soon after Nicolae Carpathia rose to power, the UN headquarter in New York was shifted to the old ruins of Babylon, south of Baghdad which was rebuilt and renamed as New Babylon (LaHaye 1996: 36). It is to here that ten percent of the weaponry that were not destroyed, which were collected from nations around the world, were shipped to. Meanwhile, the representative of the financial community gathered at New York and settled for one currency. At the same time, leaders of the major religions were in New York having a dialogue for one world religion (ibid: 27). One of the commentators in the narrative said, "If Carpathia is sincere about disarming the world and stockpiling the remaining 10 percent of the hardware, I'd rather he store it in the Middle East, in the shadow of Tehran, than on an island off New York City" (ibid: 36).

There is also a constant reference to New Babylon, the capital of the Global Community from where Nicolae Carpathia directed his global war operation against the American militia factions, under the clandestine leadership of the emasculated President Gerald Fitzhugh of the United States of North America who joined forces with the United States

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[8] The first horseman of the 'Four Horse of the Apocalypse' represents the "Antichrist and his kingdom.... He has a bow in his hand, a symbol of aggressive warfare, and yet there is no mention of an arrow.... Other passages indicate that he is a 'willful king' and that he will triumph through diplomacy. He will usher in a false peace, promising world unity." He will be victorious for he wears a crown (See LaHaye 1996: 71, See also Revelation 6: 1-8).

of Britain and the former sovereign state of Egypt (ibid: 441-444). Such references in the narrative are not only symbolically significant, but also run closely parallel to the contemporary international politics we see today in the Middle East.

The Dispensationalist Paradox

By equating 'global disarmament' with the 'rise of the Antichrist' and narrating them in the apocalyptic tradition, the plot of the story relativizes one risk at the cost of another. The possibility of a truly world wide 'global peace' free from WMD becomes obfuscated by the fear of rise of the 'Apostle of Peace.' In the words of Ted Daniels, "[B]elievers watch the workings of the United Nations with particular suspicion and revile every peace initiative" (Daniels cited in Cook 2004: 206).

The tendency to view global disarmament of WMD and 'world peace' with suspicion is more likely to be prevalent among the premillennialists[9] who take a *midtribulationist* or *posttribulationist stance*. They believe that Rapture will take place in the midst of Tribulation or at the end of the Tribulation and therefore the coming of the 'Four Horse of Apocalypse' could be already underway. This seems to be logically connected to their theological understanding of the Apocalypse. For it is widely held by many contemporary Christians including the dispensationalist that the woes of the Tribulation will be inaugurated by the first rider of the 'Four Horse of the Apocalypse' known as the Antichrist or the 'Apostle of Peace.' Grace Halsell gives an instance where television evangelist Jim Robinson states that, "There'll be no peace until Jesus comes. Any preaching of peace prior to this return is heresy; it is against the word of God; it's anti-Christ" (Halsell cited in Cook 2004: 206).

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[9] Blaising wrote, "One major difference among premillennialists today concerns the doctrine of the Rapture... The issue has to do with whether the Rapture is temporally distinct from, or is a temporal phase of, the Second Coming." There are three tribulationist positions in premillenialism: *pretribulationist* are those who hold that the Rapture will take place *before* the Tribulation. On the other, *midtribulationist* are those who holds that the Rapture will take place in the *midst* of Tribulation, while the *posttribulationist* holds that the Rapture will take place at the *end* of the Tribulation. They believe that the Rapture and the Second Coming are not distinguishable temporally (See Blaising 1999: 157-158).

Going by the same logic, premillennialists who take a *pretribulationists* position including the dispensationalists were the ones who should have no fear of the worldwide WMD disarmament and the ensuing 'world peace.' However, we can see that the opposite is happening. Many premillennialists including the majority dispensationalists[10] in America tends to be *passive* or *ambivalent* towards 'world peace.' How do you explain this paradox? I would call this paradox as 'dispensationalist paradox' to distinguish it from Marsden's notion of 'premillennial paradox.' Marsden's paradox arose from the almost simultaneous presence of postmillennial and premillennial view. This 'premillennial paradox,' as George M. Marsden observed, was expressed in "massive efforts by evangelicals to transform American politics and culture," while at the same time there was an "ever more popular dispensational premillennial teachings" (Marsden 2006: 247).

Here, I would further argue that the 'dispensationalist paradox' is a kind of *disjuncture* or *disconnect* between the pretribulationist stance of the dispensationalist and the express passivity or ambivalence towards global disarmament and world peace. Cook in his work *Christian Apocalypticism and Weapons of Mass Destruction* describes that Christian

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[10] According to Martin L. Cook, "dispensationalists" are mainly found *within* Evangelical Protestantism and the Pentecostal/Charismatic traditions of Christianity (See Cook 2004: 206). There seems to be no common definition on 'Who is a fundamentalist?' The reason is 'fundamentalism' in America is shaped by "unique and dramatic cultural experience" over the years. Ernest Sandeen and George M. Marsden agree that they "share genuine doctrinal traditions" (See Marsden 2006: 4-6). According to Sandeen 'fundamentalism' can be trace to the "'millenarian' movement that developed in late nineteenth century..." concerning Biblical prophecies" (ibid: 4). For Sandeen, this includes the "dispensational Premillennialism (ibid: 5). However, Marsden gave a four phase periodization: a) 19th Century: Evangelicalism – It "includes most major Protestant denominations and also newer revivalist groups including holiness and premillennialists. By end of century American evangelicalism is beginning to polarize between theological liberals and conservatives" (ibid: 234). b) 1920s: Fundamentalism – "A generic name for a broad coalition of conservatives from major denominations and revivalist (prominently including premillennial dispensationalists) who are militantly opposed to modernism in the churches and to certain modern cultural mores" (ibid). c) 1950s-mid 1970s: New Evangelicalism – "Most of whom have a fundamentalist heritage, form the core of a broad coalition that draws in theological conservatives, ranging from Pentecostals to Mennonites, who emphasize positive evangelism, best exemplified by Billy Graham" (ibid: 235). Fundamentalism- It "is used as a self-designation almost only by ecclesiastical separatists who break fellowship with Graham. Almost all are dispensational premillennialists, as are some non-separating evangelicals" (ibid). d) Late 1970s to early 21st Century: Fundamentalistic Evangelicalism – "The Religious Right (which also includes Catholics and Mormons) includes 'fundamentalistic' militants who from not only separatist fundamentalists groups, but also from almost the whole spectrum of evangelicals, even though by no means all evangelicals, including self-style fundamentalist, are politicized" (ibid). Marsden make a distinction between an 'evangelical' and 'fundamentalistic evangelical' in their 'relative degrees of militancy.' Richard N. Ostling identified a fundamentalist (or fundamentalistic evangelical) as "an evangelical who is angry about something" (Ostling cited in Marsden 2006: 235).

believers see the Tribulation as "completely necessary and inevitable element in the apocalyptic timetable" (Cook 2004: 206). Further, he adds that "the biblical descriptions of the nature of the Tribulation resonate with the descriptions of the use of nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons" (ibid).

Agreeing with Paul Boyer's observation, Cook writes that, "Prophecy writers viewed nuclear holocaust from a unique vantage point. They described its horror as graphically as any antinuclear activist, but not as a *possible* historical outcome to be avoided at all costs. For them it was the *probable* form of Earth's divinely ordained end. *Escape* had an individual meaning, but not a corporate, social meaning: hope lay only in accepting Christ and holding oneself in readiness for the Rapture. In the secular world, the possibility of thermonuclear war tended to be either psychologically numbing or politically energizing, as people transformed anxiety into action. For prophecy writers it serves different functions: spurring missionary effort, promising future judgment, and validating the premillennial belief system and the Bible itself" (ibid: 206, emphasis original).

Cook observed that dispensationalist view has become pervasive even among Christian denomination and traditions that do not endorse this view (ibid: 201). "The dispensationalist world view," he wrote, "is transmitted and inculcated by means of magazines, books, films, para-church agencies, and television and radio evangelists, almost all without official sanction of any Christian body" (ibid: 201-202). The implication of such beliefs and attitude in practice, Cook observed, "means support for large military budgets, unquestioning acceptance of the development of new and more destructive weapons systems, and calm acceptance of the inevitability of large-scale conflict among nations" (ibid: 207). The narrativization of the apocalypse in popular culture with 'certainty' and 'inevitability' in the contemporary world cast a shadow on 'world peace' and the eventual eradication of WMD.

"The Powers"

In the narrative, we find that under the leadership of the President Fitzhugh, American militia faction raised an insurrection against the Global Community Potentate. With the destruction of all arms under the new dispensation of the Global Community, the American militias were the only force capable of effectively countering the rise of Nicolae Carpathia. This insurrection was possible, as the story implicitly suggest, because of the small arms that every American citizen of over 18 years were entitled to possess. The plot in the story echoes the ideology of the state and "the Powers" of whom the theologian Walter Wink identifies as "the vendors of war, weapons, torture, corporate power, wealth, injustice, and ecological ruin" (Orr 2005: 1698).

David W. Orr in his article *Armageddon Versus Extinction* points out the 'complicit' nature of the relationship between the conservative evangelicals and the "the Powers." He observed that "conservative evangelicals are now complicit with the political forces sweeping us toward more terrible violence and the avoidable catastrophes of climate change and ecological ruin" (ibid: 291; See also Cook 2004: 200-201, 205). Can we then say that the consequence of this complicit nature is expressed in everyday violence against man and nature? How else do we explain the catastrophic nature of global terrorism and Katrina Hurricane? Are they not violent retribution paid back in the exponential?

The 'Social Drama' of *Left Behind* Narrative

The popularity of the Left Behind series also reflects to some extent the increasing sense of risk and feeling of vulnerability in 'risk society'. Victor Turner interpretation of Richard Schecher's horizontal eight figure loop of the "manifest performance" of 'Stage Drama' which gets subsumed as "implicit rhetorical structure" for the overt 'Social Drama' (Turner 1981: 150) can be seen in the invasion of Iraq in 2003 by George Bush Jr. which seems to run parallel to the narrative of *Left Behind* novel which was first published in 1995.

With the passage of time, narratives in popular culture inform individuals and public at large and help them to relate themselves with their surroundings. The shaping of our *perceptions* takes place not only because narrative is a 'moralizing discourse' but narrative itself is moralizing (White 1987: 11). Van Loon also observed that with the erosion of the opposition between 'objective' and 'subjective' risk, people may act on perceptions which *actualize* reality (Van Loon 2002: 52). In her studies, Grace Halsell finds a connection between dispensationalist ideas and American Foreign policy in the Middle East (Cook 2004: 206). The *Left Behind* novel made into a movie deals with an episode in which Israel was being attacked from all sides with a surprise air attack first coming from "its border with Iraq." This episode reminisce the erstwhile threat Saddam Hussain posed to its small neighbour Israel. This seems to be not just coincidence if we take into account the fact that the novel *Left Behind* was first published in 1995 and the *pre-emptive* attack on Iraq took place in 2003, on the 'alleged' ground of possessing WMD.

We may recollect again some of the events that are interwoven with the plot of the stories. In the narrative account, we find that with the rise of the Global Potentate Nicolae Carpathia, the UN headquarter in New York was soon shifted to the old ruins of Babylon which is located south of Baghdad. The use of the name Babylon for the new city has symbolic significance as it evoke and provoke certain imagery. In the Old Testament, we find that in 597 B.C., Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon laid a siege to the city of Jerusalem and took Jehoiakim King of Judah, along with more than 3,000 Jews as captives. Nebuchadnezzar also destroyed the temple of Solomon and carried off some of the articles to the temple in Babylonia (See Book of Ezekiel, and Daniel in the Old Testament, See also LaHaye 1996: 294). Further, in the Book of Revelation, we find the prophecy against 'Babylon the Great,' a city put under God's judgment and condemned to be destroyed (See Revelation 18). The stories in Left behind novels keep referring back to city of New Babylon, the capital of the Global Community. Interestingly in the narrative, we find that the Global Potentate Nicolae Carpathia of New Babylon is at war

against the American militia factions, under the leadership of the President of the United States of North America whose power and influence has been craftily usurped by him.

As stories have many purposes – to entertain, to gossip, to confess, to argue, to persuade relevant others to see themselves as actors in particular kind of plots (Mattingly 2004: 5-6). Likewise, the Left Behind stories also entertain, gossip, confess, argue, and persuade the relevant others to see themselves as actors in particular kind of plots. Through its narrativization, the authors of the Left Behind narratives seem to have influenced the 'politicosocial order' of our time (White 1987: 11).

The 'Implicit Social Process' for Bioterrorism Scenario

The continuing 'social drama' of 'War Against Terror' played out in Iraq and other parts of the world can only be fully understood as a full blown paradox of liberal democracy and the 'race struggle'[11] between the *Homo sucker* (the gullible mainstream) and the *Homo sacer* (the marginalized)[12] on a global scale (Foucault 2003: 60-61; Zizek 2002: 83-111). The paradox of liberal democracy in modern nation state is that it elicits very high level of consent but offers no means by which dissatisfied groups can hope to have an audience or effect the policy of the state. Thus, violence becomes a channel of communication. However, until this time, the state has been able to contain the fallout of this 'race struggle' through various welfare policy measures.

In the context of sweeping globalization, the 'paradox of liberal democracy' becomes more pronounced in risk society. The 'racial binarism' or the 'race struggle' as Foucault has used it in the context of the struggle between the 'obverse' and 'underside' of the race which give birth to modern nation state, has *transcended* itself beyond its borders (Foucault: 61). Within the context of modern state, redressal of grievances of the Homo

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[11] 'Race struggle' or 'racial binarism' in Foucault usage is not the same as racism or clash between two distinct races but the struggle between the 'obverse' (mainstream) and 'underside' (marginalized) of the race in a social body (See Foucault 2003: 61).

[12] Zizek's distinction between the *Homo sucker* and *Homo sacer* is originally drawn from Agamben's distinction between the *full citizen* and the *Homo sacer* (See Zizek 2002: 91).

sacer would still have been possible as they form part of the same social body. However, in the context of contemporary globalization, the 'race struggle' within the social body of modern nation state has spilled over into a global scale. 'Peace at home' in America, which was bought at the price of 'war' wage abroad, could no longer be sustained. The table is now turned.

Increasing connectivity due to rapid development in technoscience and globalization made it possible for citizens of a state to stretch their cultural and primordial ties beyond its geographical borders. With the increasing use of 'Last Man Technology,' local events can have enormous global impact (Boal 2006: 172). The horror and terror perpetuated in one corner of the globe zip round the world in a second as 'spectacle.' Citizens of the state are no longer immune from information bombardment from the outside world. The horror of war, for instance in Iraq, is flashed in the living room of every American citizens. In risk society, with the acceleration of 'speed,' as Virilio study of 'dromology' shows, speed has compressed almost every sphere of life and the world has become truly one small global village. This increasing connectivity of contemporary globalization makes no state impervious to its own action carried out external to its boundaries. Just as various transnational actors - MNCs, terrorist, or virus - moves freely within this global network of actors, the global network itself becomes the vector for catastrophe. This 'nomadology of risk' has created a strong sense of vulnerability in risk society (Van Loon 2002: 81).

Coming back to Foucault's historico-political discourse on power relations, we find that the 'private warfare' that was eradicated from the social body and pushed to the frontiers of the state has returned to inhabit the social body of the state (Foucault 2003: 48). The 'Enemy at the Gate' becomes enemy within and global terrorism represents the new face (less) Enemy. One of the reasons being capitalism reaching the limits of its frontiers. There are no more frontiers to be won and no 'Enemy' to be confronted at the 'Gate'. Swamped and overwhelmed by the fluidity of the new global order, the 'new enemy' – silent, invisible, stealthy, and widespread – resides within the interstices of the social body of the risk society. And the 'race struggle' that earlier existed within the social body

of the modern state has undergone *mutation* in the new social body of risk society. Global terrorism represented by revolutionary Islam represents the manifestation of that phenomenon.

Secular Apocalypse: *Sleeper Cell*

Mutation in 'race struggle' combined with *over*specialization in technoscience, especially in biotechnology and information and communication technology in risk society has made 'new terrorism' more potent and destructive. As Baudrillard has observed, terrorist themselves have "assimilated all of modernity and globalization" in launching a deep and coordinated attack (Baudrillard 2001: 8). It is within the new social body of 'world risk society,' that the implicit social process for the next 'stage drama' of bioterrorism scenario can be found. And before we examine the bioterrorism scenario as depicted in the novel titled *Sleeper Cell* first published in 2005, we will present a brief summary of the classic thriller story. This novel is chosen among other novels dealing with bioterrorism scenario because of the use of cultural symbolism alluding to the villain's background which reflects the social and political milieu of the novel. We can therefore argue that the implicit social process for the next 'staged drama' was already in place.

The plot of our next 'staged drama' called *Sleeper Cell* revolves around five protagonists in a future scenario where America is under bioattack. The author of this novel build's his character by depicting them as experts in their own field and plots his story by collating materials that vaguely points to an insidious threat of a fourth type of weapon of mass destruction – the "nanothreats." The author's description of the five protagonists as an expert and how they were hoodwinked by their clever enemy make the story a classic thriller.

The setting of the fictive story was years after the 9/11 incident when a new dispensation replaced the present Republican Government of George W. Bush Jr. With threats of terrorism becoming real in the American imagination, a new division was created under the auspices of the Homeland Security Advanced Researched Projects Agency called

simply 'Biodefense.' The division consists of five hand-picked individuals, each a celebrated expert in their own field - Steve Adams, a bacteriologist who "can learn in an hour about a strain of bacteria with his antique microscope than the whole CDC can find out in a week"; Jim Summers, an epidemiologist, who runs simulation and model outbreaks using mathematical model; Eva Vanorden, one of the best virologist in the world, trained at Hopkins in molecular virology who identified the epitope now used in the SARS vaccine; Sam Golberg, a physician who specializes in infectious disease; and Alan Thorpe, Director of Emergency Operations who co-ordinates the group i.e., Biodefense.

The novel depicts an outbreak of an unknown highly infectious disease at UCLA Medical Center, Emergency Department, Los Angeles. Initially, it was considered as a gastrointestinal infection. However, the scenario dramatically changed with the infection spreading to health workers at the emergency ward. The highly contagious disease, with mild flue like symptoms and bloody discharge from anus/vagina, points to an unknown and new type of disease. The nature of the infection with no known case history of similar symptoms indicates a bioterrorist attack. The hospital at UCLA medical center emergency department was flooded with patients who were suspected to carry the infectious diseases.

In the scenario painted, the five protagonists were misled into believing that the bio-terror attack came from a highly sophisticated fourth generation weapon of mass destruction belonging to the nano-technology which was earlier considered to be a pipe dream. The suspicion was compounded by the threat: "The epidemic in Los Angeles is Allah's warning of the coming plague. He will unleash the nanodeath on the infidels" (Anderson 2005: 64). This threat was posted at pentagon website by hackers originating from Jakarta, Indonesia.

Later on, however, the threat of nano-machine proved to be a red herring which delayed the investigation of the five protagonists. The stealth enemy, who launched the attack from within America, cleverly anticipates the kind of response the government agency

will deal with in the eventuality of an outbreak and took advantage of the situation. It was a synergistic attack by the 'sleeper cell' within America who intends to cripple the economy and political establishment. At the end, however, the enemy (named Faud and Gopal Khabir) were arrested and the attack was stopped in its track with the timely discovery of curative drugs (Anderson 2005: 307-8).

The 'Implicit Rhetorical Structure' for Bioterrorism

We can surmise that bioterrorism scenarios like *Sleeper Cell, Dark Winter*, and others were conceived not only to entertain but also to anticipate the kinds of problem society may face in future scenarios. In some scenario like *Dark Winter*, public were involved from mere spectators to actual participants. We may recall that Turner's interpretation of Richard Schecher's horizontally placed eight figure loop helps us to understand bioterrorism scenarios as an express relationship between 'social drama' and or 'staged drama' and vice-versa (Turner 1981: 150). The eight figure loop model of Schecher helps us to understand the dynamic relationship between 'social dramas' and 'expressive cultural genres.' And such narrativization has significance as they have the potential to *make* and *remake* cultural sense in an age of modern 'dramas of living' – now ever more on a global and species-threatening scale.

Apart from Schecher's model, cognitive anthropology also offers us the notion of narrative scripts that guide 'action' and 'discourse' (Mattingly 2004:19). Renato Rosaldo's essay on Ilongot hunting stories as interpreted by Mattingly suggest a connection between the 'act of storytelling' and the 'active shaping of lived experience,' that is, stories inform the experience of hunting at least as much as the reverse. Like the Ilongot hunters, the stories designer of bioterrorism scenarios tell us the kinds of experience they seek and try to shape (ibid:20).

In the same vein, Cheryl Mattingly, an anthropologist, is interested in "what people were doing with stories, how their stories guided their actions, how stories were about something and that something was of tremendous interest in people's lives" (ibid: x).

That 'something' in Hayden White terminology would mean the 'politicosocial order' of the narrator as found in the story. In this respect, the narrative on *Sleeper Cell, Dark Winter, Demon in the Freezer,* etc., is a moralizing discourse.

The narrative on bioterrorist scenarios, in some way, manifests the apocalyptic 'voice of prophecy.' Over the years, secularized end-time views of the American history have been put forward by various science-fiction writers. In this regard, Monica Schoch-Spana notes that to approach counter-bioterrorism scenarios as non-religious would obscure the complexity of US culture and politics. According to Schoch-Spana, the religious and secular apocalyptic narratives frequently 'interpenetrate' one another (Schoch-Spana Oct. 2004: 13).

Most of the narratives on apocalypse resonate well with the technoculture of risk society. The study of apocalypse in popular culture highlights the importance of 'cultural factors' in interpretations of certain 'risk' and their growing 'objectification' within the larger framework of technological culture. In making sense of pathogen virulence, as Van Loon has observed, we can see a 'collaboration' of medical science and popular culture and, at the same time, popular culture serves as the vehicle for conveying the 'risk' and 'contingency' of pathogen virulence to a wider set of audience (Van Loon 2002: 125).

Role of Military-industrial Complex

The narrativizations of bioterrorism scenarios increase the risk of more and more R&D (Research and Design) in cutting-edge warfare technology. The threat of bioterrorism and bio-warfare gave impetus to modern institution like the military-industrial complex to invest in "projected dangers of the future." The risk of bioattack has something to do with anticipation, with impending destruction that has not yet happened, and risks which are already real today. In a fundamental sense, such risks are both *real* and *unreal*. Since risk is imminent, active decision must be taken today in order to prevent, alleviate or take precautions against the problems and crisis of the future.

Popular culture like *Sleeper Cell,* *Demon in the Freezer*, etc., brings out the role of military-industrial complex in the research and development of pathogen virulence. According to Virilio, almost all technological innovations (and also its antecedent risks) have its origin in military warfare. For instance, the origin of internet can be traced to Arpa-net (Arpa is the Armament Research Department) which was supposed to provide vital communication between military headquarters in the wake of a nuclear attack. Unlike ground based communication, Arpa-net communication take place via satellite, or via data bases and any possibility of disruption in communication due to nuclear radiation can be avoided (Virilio 2002: 139-40).

Within the larger canvas of technological culture, we see that science and popular culture formed a worldview which becomes a rhetorical tool for the exchange of 'threats' and 'opportunities' between the layman and experts. The solutions offered by the modern institutional forms, like the military-industrial complex, for anticipated threat compelled us to depend on them even though we may distrust them (Van Loon 2002: 135). Within this 'hybrid worldview' of science and popular culture, as Van Loon has observed, the close encounter of "religious eschatology of the apocalypse, an immanent nihilism and the modernist teleology of progress" has all the recipe for a catastrophe (ibid: 136). We can say after Van Loon that the use of germs as bioweapons has 'reconfigured' the world of microbiology to that of macrobiology and biopolitics (ibid: 137).

Conclusion

Following Victor Turner's horizontal eight figure loop, we can conclude that the 'staged drama' and 'social drama' *reinforce* each other as the impress of personalities on culture and symbolism that connects event and element gets drawn into the given model (See Sapir, White and Pepper cited in Turner 1981: 141). Just as the 'staged drama' has its origin in the social processes, the 'social drama' has its origin in the rhetorical structure of society. By examining the 'interpenetration' of religious and secular apocalypse as found in American popular culture, through Schecher's eight figure loop model, the forces that operate the flow in this model becomes visible. In the process, we also see the

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'enrollment' of various actors in the production of 'risk' and the open-ended bioterrorism scenario.

In this regard, I would argue that the Anthrax attack of fall 2001 should not be seen as an aberration in this model, but taken as a 'prelude' to the *possibility* of the coming plague in risk society. Similarly, I would argue that the Persian Gulf War of 1991 formed the socio-cultural milieu for plotting the Left Behind narratives. The invasion of Iraq in 2003 by George W. Bush Jr. is taken by me as an overt social drama, as it stands out from the previous wars in the explicit use of religious symbolisms and the tectonic shift in the ethics of war – that war can be waged not only to defend or repulse enemy force but to *pre-empt* a risk. The ghost of pre-emptive strike still haunts the American force in Iraq as the ethical or moral basis of war has extended into the future.

We can conclude that the narrative on religious or secular apocalypse speaks for certain 'politicosocial order.' The popularity of the apocalyptic novels like *Left Behind* and *Sleeper Cell* is a reflection of man's anxiety with increasing 'risk' and 'uncertainty' in technocultural society. In the backdrop of millennial expectation, nihilistic terror, and rapid development in technoscience, the notion of 'risk' has acquired a new meaning - the 'possibility' of the worst case. I would fully agree with Ricoeur that much of our preoccupation or care has to do with 'self' and the awareness that we are mortal (Ricoeur 1981: 167). In the modern world, 'death' is a scandal and every attempt is made to expunge it from memory. The designers and writers of religious and secular apocalypse offer some kind of hope, while at the same time plumbing the depths of human emotions – the fear of death and being left behind.

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Conclusion

'Empire of Risk' that emerged in technocultural society has its epicenter in American society and culture. Techno-scientific dominance and *derealization of politics* in the wake of revolution in Information and Communication Technology (ICT) has spawned 'new risks' which inhabits the 'social imagination' of Americans. However, the Empire of Risk is not so different from 'risk society' as advocated by Beck as it has its *milieu* in the 'overspecialization' of technoscience and the 'risk consciousness' engendered by radicalized modernization.

Both Empire of Risk and 'risk society' differs only in degrees. Risk society has its origin in technoculture of western civilization and its subsequent *globality* through colonization and globalization. Empire of Risk is a recent phenomenon in the twenty- first century which has its epicenter in American society marked by *pronounced* 'risk consciousness.' Just as the epicenter of techno-scientific development of early modernity was in Western Europe, the epicenter of techno-scientific dominance of modernity is now in America.

The extreme form of 'risk consciousness' is driven by a desire for a 'sanitized' world in Empire of Risk, which has spawned a 'culture of fear.' In this regard, 9/11 was an important historical anchor because it broke the *symbolic coordinate* of this 'virtual reality.' As Zizek showed how the 'image' of the spectacle broke this reality and not the reality invading their world. It was a catastrophe that was *psychically* and *libidinally* invested by (the same) people who share the order of things. Their fantasy became a reality and that was the biggest surprise (Zizek 2002: 14). Therefore, 9/11 marked a 'turning' in technocultural society and foreshadows the shape of things to come.

If earlier, risk consciousness was about 'hazards' and 'dangers' lurking in the environment; the risk consciousness in Empire of Risk is no longer about 'hazards' and 'dangers' of industrial *overproduction* but the possibility of the 'worst case' born out of *human volition*. This human volition caused catastrophe is the direct fallout of the 'politics of urgency' which has begun to overshadow risk society. For the politics

of urgency 'inhibits reflection and reconsideration', thereby increasing risks in the exponential (Van Loon 2002: 4).

In this sense, risk is no longer *unintended consequences* of radicalized modernization. But risk is human agency 'enrollment' of various actors for *intentional consequences*. In other words, risk is about 'biopolitics' and 'body politics.' The dangers that arose from Empire of Risk, and its cause and effect have its origin in human agency. It is about silent oppression and return of the repressed, of conquest and insurrection, and of binary opposition. Thus, risk as 'cognitive map' is about colonizing the future so as to *pre-empt* a catastrophe.

Hence, risk is no longer the consequences of the 'past' haunting the 'present.' Moreover, the 'enrollment' of various actors is in anticipation of threat in the future. It also implies that the ethical and moral basis of human action is no longer located in the 'present' but has extended into the 'future.' For instance, the ethical and moral basis of *pre-emptive* war is no longer rooted in the present but has extended into the future. This marked the beginning of the *derealization of war* and the *derealization of politics*.

The 'Last Man Technology', as a consequence, becomes the instrument of social management where both the state and non-state actor vies for control. The world of imagery or the 'spectacle' becomes the virtual road to utopia for the disillusioned and the dissatisfied. With revolution in ICT, the 'spectacle' has invaded the living room of every *Homo sucker* and *Homo sacer* of the social body which has implication for the 'race struggle.'

In the wake of increasing connectivity and globalization, the 'race struggle' of modern nation state gets *transcended* and *transmuted* to spill over on a global scale. The horrors of war in one corner of the globe became the 'spectacle' that mobilizes new rounds of suicide bombers in their flights to the future. The 'paradox' of liberal democracy in an age of increasing globalization and imperial domination is unable to contain increasing disaffection. At the same time, in the backdrop of millennial expectation and rapid techno-scientific development, nihilistic terror has acquired a

new meaning – the beginning of the apocalypse. The *possibility* of the worst case thus became immanent.

In this context, bioterrorism scenario begins to emerge from the social milieu which acquires a *graded possibility* from virtual war game, table top exercise to real-time war game. With increasing *psychical* and *libidal* investment, this implicit rhetorical structure attains the possibility of an overt 'social drama.' In this regard, bioterrorism scenario is an expression of extreme form of 'risk consciousness' which has its epicenter in Empire of Risk. The 'culture of fear' that inhabits the 'social imagination' became the harbinger of a self-fulfilling prophecy.'

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